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1850-1941, by Lloyd G. Reynolds and Charles C.
Killingsworth

Kheel Center for Labor-Management
Documentation & Archives

1944

Complete Text - Trade Union Publications: The Official Journals, Convention Proceedings, and Constitutions of International Unions and Federations, 1850-1941, Volume I

Lloyd G. Reynolds
Johns Hopkins University

Charles C. Killingsworth
Johns Hopkins University

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Complete Text - Trade Union Publications: The Official Journals, Convention Proceedings, and Constitutions of International Unions and Federations, 1850-1941, Volume I

Abstract

The Catherwood Library and ILR School at Cornell are pleased to again make available an extremely important index of major labor union publications, long out of print. It is Lloyd G. Reynolds and Charles C. Killingsworth's *Trade Union Publications: The Official Journals, Convention Proceedings and Constitutions of International Unions and Federations, 1850-1941*. Baltimore, The John Hopkins Press, 1944.

Keywords

trade unions, journals, proceedings, publications, constitutions

Comments

Originally published by John Hopkins Press, 1944.

TRADE UNION PUBLICATIONS

1850 - 1941

Volume I

DESCRIPTION AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

TRADE UNION PUBLICATIONS

1850 - 1941

VOLUME I Description and Bibliography

VOLUME II Subject Index

VOLUME III Subject Index (concluded)

Trade Union Publications

*The Official Journals, Convention Proceedings, and
Constitutions of International Unions
and Federations, 1850-1941*

BY

LLOYD G. REYNOLDS

Associate Professor of Political Economy

and

CHARLES C. KILLINGSWORTH

Instructor in Political Economy

The Johns Hopkins University

Volume I

Description and Bibliography



BALTIMORE
THE JOHNS HOPKINS PRESS

1944

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RESEARCH STAFF

Indexing

| | |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Blanche Coll | Louise Lankford |
| Edna Jurgens Edwards | Joseph Lerner |
| Bess Fair | Eleanor Miller |
| Paul Flam | Evelyn Osovitz |
| Jane Metzger Freed | Roger Randall |
| Beverly Kritzman Killingsworth | Bernard Rubenstein |
| Virginia Kyner | Elizabeth Williams Zorthian |

Bibliography

Katherine Dudley
Jane Metzger Freed

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*"I for my part venerate the inventor of Indexes; and I know not to whom to yield the preference, either to Hippocrates, who was the first great anatomizer of the human body, or to that unknown labourer in literature who first laid open the nerves and arteries of a book."—Isaac Disraeli, *Literary Miscellanies* (New York: W. J. Widdleton, 1868).*

FOREWORD

When Johns Hopkins University pioneered in the collection of trade union journals, convention proceedings, and other union publications, it opened an important new field of development for libraries. Other institutions have been somewhat slow to follow the example set by Johns Hopkins, and good collections of trade union publications are still somewhat scarce. Nevertheless, there are now almost a dozen important collections of trade union journals, convention proceedings, and other documents in the United States. During the next decade the number of such collections may be expected to grow rapidly. The trade unions are beginning to realize the value of their publications to scholars, and they may be expected to encourage the establishment of new collections.

The use of the steadily accumulating trade union materials by scholars has encountered a formidable obstacle in the absence of a general index. Even the individual publications of unions frequently lack indexes. A scholar who wishes to make a thorough study of the evolution of the policy of various unions toward piece work, technological change, or lay-offs, or study changes in the internal operations of the unions, such as changes in admission policy, the administration of transfer cards, the operation of permit cards, is confronted with an almost insuperable task. There are so many volumes of so many journals where material might possibly be found that no scholar can hope to cover them all. With the steady increase in the number of journals and the number of volumes, the work of going through accumulated material becomes increasingly difficult.

Now for a second time Johns Hopkins has pioneered in making trade union publications more available to scholars. The over-all index of the journals in its extensive collection will be an indispensable guide to every student of trade union policy and trade union administration. The index, of course, does more than increase the usefulness of the collection of Johns Hopkins. It makes more useful any collection which possesses the same journals as are found at Johns Hopkins. Let us hope that this index will stimulate a great growth in thorough studies of trade union government and trade union policies, and that it will also lead to the establishment of new collections of trade union material by the many institutions which have thus far neglected this important field.

SUMNER H. SLICHTER

HARVARD UNIVERSITY
JUNE 1944

PREFACE

Shortly after 1900, Professor George E. Barnett undertook to assemble at Johns Hopkins University a collection of the publications of the international trade unions and federations of trade unions then in existence or which had existed prior to that time. By 1907 the collection had attained considerable size and a high degree of completeness. A list of the material included in it, and in the similar collections existing at several other institutions, was published by Dr. Barnett in *A Trial Bibliography of American Trade Union Publications* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1904 and 1907).

From that time to the present an effort has been made to secure each year the current publications of all international unions and federations in the country. Thanks to the cooperation of hundreds of trade union secretaries and presidents, the collection has grown steadily and now includes some seven thousand volumes. With respect to the main types of material included—the constitutions, convention proceedings and official journals of international unions and federations—the Johns Hopkins collection is more complete than any other in the United States for the period before 1900. The collection in the Department of Labor Library is very close to the Johns Hopkins collection in total size, and for the period since 1900 is possibly somewhat more complete. Other large collections, including much early material, are to be found in the Wisconsin Historical Society Library, the John Crerar Library in Chicago, the Library of Congress, and the New York City Public Library.

At least twenty universities¹ are now receiving international union publications in considerable volume, but most of these collections are less comprehensive and of more recent origin than those first mentioned. A considerable amount of trade union material is also to be found in several state and city libraries,

-
1. These include the University of California, the University of Chicago, Columbia University, Duke University, Harvard University, the University of Illinois, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, the University of Michigan, the University of Minnesota, the University of Missouri, New York University, the University of North Carolina, Northwestern University, Ohio State University, the University of Pennsylvania, Stanford University, the University of Texas, Yale University and the University of Washington. The reader who wishes to know which of these libraries contain the publications of a particular union is referred to *Union List of Serials in the Libraries of the United States and Canada*, ed. Winifred Gregory (2nd ed.; New York: H. W. Wilson Company, 1943).

including the Kansas State Historical Library, the New York State Library, the Enoch Pratt Library in Baltimore, the James J. Hill Library in St. Paul, and the public libraries of Cleveland, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, and St. Louis. The index portion of the present work can therefore be used in a considerable number of places throughout the United States.

The cumulative increase in the quantity of trade union publications has long been a serious obstacle to effective use of the publications for research purposes. Studies of a single union have remained reasonably manageable, since the publications of one union rarely exceed one hundred volumes. Possibly for this reason, dissertations and monographs in the field of trade unionism during the past twenty-five years have been predominantly of the single-union type. The investigator who wanted to generalize about the experience of a large number of unions on a single subject was faced with the problem of skimming hundreds or even thousands of volumes to find the scattered references to the subject in which he was interested, and only after many months of work could he begin the real task of classifying and interpreting the references. The few scholars who have embarked on this type of study have been forced to sample the material without attempting to exhaust it. Thus the very abundance of the material has set limits to the possibility and validity of generalizing studies.

The initial purpose of the present undertaking was to compile a subject index which would unlock the official journals and convention proceedings of international unions and national federations for research use. Work was begun in September, 1941, and continued until May, 1944. The methods used and the detailed characteristics of the product are discussed in Chapter 2, which should be read by all who intend to use these volumes for research purposes. It is sufficient here to point out that the index covers the journals and convention proceedings of a selected group of fifty unions and federations from the beginning of their history until the end of 1941. It does not include other publications of these unions, such as pamphlets, research reports, or reports of collective bargaining conferences; nor does it include publications of local unions, city and state federations of local unions, or labor political organizations.

The unions selected for indexing were mainly those which, by virtue of great size or age or both, occupy an outstanding position in American trade union history; but others of lesser importance were included in order to secure a balanced coverage of different types of industry and occupation. The terminal date of December 1941 was selected in the first instance for the unions indexed

during 1941 and 1942. For unions completed more recently, it would have been possible to carry the index through 1943. The technical difficulties of going back to add only a year or two after a union had been completely indexed, however, made this seem inadvisable and December 1941 thus became the terminal date for the index as a whole. This date, although selected on purely practical grounds, is also an appropriate historical breaking-point, since it marked the entrance of the United States into the second World War.

Trade union constitutions, while they are listed in the bibliography, are not included in the index. This decision was based originally on the fact that union constitutions are compact documents which can be analyzed rather readily without the aid of an index. Our decision on this point has been further justified by the recent publication of an excellent collection of trade union constitutional provisions prepared by Miss Florence Peterson.² This provides in very compact form most of the textual material needed for comparative study of union constitutions.

As regards the official journals and convention proceedings of the selected unions, the coverage of the index is almost complete. Occasional volumes, particularly for the years before 1900, could not be obtained from library sources or from the union itself, the union being in some cases no longer in existence. Volumes of convention proceedings which could not be found have been omitted from the bibliographical listings because of the probability that they were never published. Missing volumes of union journals have been included in the bibliography on the assumption that publication was continuous, unless definite evidence to the contrary was found. Their omission from the index has been indicated by footnote references.

As the work of indexing proceeded, two important by-products developed from it. First, a brief critique of the publications of each union was written as soon as indexing of its publications had been completed. This critique is not intended as a history of the union, which would obviously have required much more labor. It is rather a brief introduction to the life of the union as seen through its publications, emphasizing the content of the publications and intended primarily to guide the reader toward profitable subjects of investigation. Second, a chronology and bibliography was prepared, not only for the unions indexed, but for some 225 other unions for which a record of publication could be found

2. Florence Peterson, *Handbook of Labor Unions* (Washington: American Council on Public Affairs, 1944).

either in the Johns Hopkins collection or in one of the other major collections. This material, like the index itself, was not carried beyond the end of 1941 except in a few cases where inclusion of more recent events in the chronology was necessary to eliminate possible confusion. These two types of material have been assembled in Part II of the present volume, while Part I presents generalizations about the content and uses of the publications and describes the methods used in analyzing them.

The index itself appears in Volumes II and III. Volume II contains prefatory notes explaining the meaning of index headings wherever the meaning is not self-evident, indicating the types of material which will be found under the major headings, and defining the special terms and symbols used. A careful reading of these notes will enable research workers to use the index with a more precise knowledge of its usefulness and limitations.

At the beginning of the study valuable suggestions concerning index headings and methods of work were received from Professors E. Wight Bakke, Charles A. Beard, J. Douglas Brown, Carroll Daugherty, John M. Gaus, William S. Hopkins, Richard A. Lester, H. A. Millis, R. E. Montgomery, Selig Perlman, Sumner H. Slichter, Edwin E. Witte, and Leo Wolman, in addition to the authors' colleagues at Johns Hopkins. Other helpful suggestions were received from Dr. L. F. Schmeckebier of the Brookings Institution; Miss Helen Baker of the Industrial Relations Section, Princeton University; Miss Laura Thompson of the Department of Labor Library; Mr. J. Christian Bay of the John Crerar Library; Miss Adelaide Hasse of Catholic University; Mrs. Ellen Commons of the Social Security Board; Miss Edith McMahan of the American Federation of Labor; and Dr. Joel Seidman of the National Labor Relations Board. To all who assisted in the undertaking we express our gratitude.

We wish also to express our deep gratitude to the members of the research staff, whose names are listed on a preceding page. Particular credit is due these persons for their patience in pursuing an unavoidably tedious enterprise and for their care and diligence in observing the working routines on which the quality and uniformity of the results depended. If the user of the index and bibliography finds their quality high, his thanks should go primarily to these individuals. Members of the research staff also prepared first drafts of the critiques of each union's publications. Jane Metzger Freed rendered valuable assistance in the assembling, checking and editing of this volume.

L. G. R.

C. C. K.

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY
MAY 1944

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PART I



CHAPTER 1

The Content and Uses of Trade Union Publications

These volumes are addressed to those who want to understand the behavior of American trade unions. An understanding of trade unionism may be sought out of sheer scientific curiosity or for immediate administrative purposes. A trade union official preparing for a convention discussion of some policy problem may want to trace the previous discussions of this subject in his own union or to find out how the problem has been dealt with in other unions. An employer confronted by a new type of union demand may want to discover why the union attaches importance to the demand and how far the demand has been granted by other employers in his own industry or other industries. A labor relations board, engaged in untangling a jurisdictional dispute between rival unions, may want to learn the past history of the dispute. Research departments of business firms, unions and government agencies may thus find it necessary to undertake broad investigations of trade unionism in addition to the studies carried on by research workers in universities.

The general accessibility of trade union publications makes them a useful source for almost any investigation of union behavior. On some subjects they contain far more material than could readily be assembled in any other way. This becomes increasingly true as an investigation extends into past periods which are reflected only dimly and incorrectly in men's memories.

The object of this chapter is first, to describe briefly the types of material contained in the official publications of international unions¹ and second, to discuss the relevance of this material to the main questions which may be asked concerning trade unionism. A particular effort will be made to distinguish investigations for which union publications are the main source of information from investigations in which their role is to supplement information obtained from other sources.

The content of trade union publications differs greatly from union to union and from time to time within the same union.

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1. Because of its wide currency among trade unionists and students of trade unionism, the term "international union" is used throughout this study to include both true internationals, i. e., unions with one or more Canadian locals, and national unions whose membership is confined to the United States.

The summary statements made below should be taken as no more than general tendencies from which a particular union may deviate widely. The reader interested in a particular subject or a particular union must go to later chapters for a detailed analysis of the publications. This summary can only introduce the reader to these chapters; it cannot serve as a substitute for them.

THE CONTENT OF THE PUBLICATIONS: CONVENTION PROCEEDINGS

Most of the unions studied held annual conventions during their early years. As the unions grew in size and strength, however, the interval between conventions tended to increase. The increased cost of assembling delegates from hundreds of locals in all parts of the country was no doubt partly responsible for this tendency. The development of a full-time staff of national officials with wide discretion to manage union affairs between conventions, and in many unions the adoption of the initiative and referendum technique for deciding policy issues, also made frequent conventions less essential to union government. Apart from the state and national federations, which meet annually, annual conventions are now found chiefly among the smaller or younger internationals. Among the large and well-established internationals biennial conventions predominate, triennial or quadrennial conventions are not unusual, and even longer intervals are sometimes found.

Almost of all of the unions have published some account of their convention proceedings from the very beginning. While the unions remained small, these accounts were relatively short. The early proceedings of the Railway Conductors, for example, contained about twenty pages, as compared with some fifteen hundred pages at the present time. Most of the early proceedings included the reports of international officers and standing committees, a list or summary of the resolutions introduced in the convention and a notation of the action taken on them. The discussion of delegates on these matters was reported only in summary form, if at all. As growing union strength made more money available for publication, however, more and more unions began to publish verbatim reports of convention discussions. This tendency has been particularly marked since 1920, and at present more than half of the unions studied publish verbatim proceedings. Covering a convention which usually lasts from one to two weeks, these proceedings frequently run to four or five hundred pages. In the

building trades, railroad trades, clothing trades, and coal mining unions the proceedings sometimes exceed a thousand pages. The unions which do not publish verbatim reports usually include in their proceedings speeches to the convention by visitors and major union officers, reports of officers and important committees, a list of the resolutions submitted and the action taken on them, and an account of the routine business transacted by the convention.

Officers' Reports

The reports of officers and committees are usually the most valuable part of the convention proceedings for the student of union behavior. The number of reports presented and the types of material which they contain vary a great deal. Material which in one union appears in the president's report may in another union appear in the reports of vice-presidents and organizers, or of the executive council, or of the legislative committee. In the eighties and nineties, when the secretary-treasurer was in many unions the principal paid officer and the president was only the nominal head, the secretary-treasurer's report contained general information which would now appear in the president's report. It is necessary, therefore, to discuss these reports as a group and to arrange the discussion on the basis of types of information rather than on the basis of authorship.

The officers' reports usually give a very detailed account of the current condition and problems of the union and of the significant developments since the last convention, including such matters as: organizing activities and their results; membership changes; locals admitted and suspended; problems and achievements of particular locals or districts of the union; changes in employment, wages and conditions in the industry; the wage program and wage achievements of the union; disputes adjusted and agreements negotiated with employers; the history and outcome of important strikes; the administration of benefit plans; jurisdictional disputes with other unions; problems of relations with the AFL or CIO headquarters; arbitration awards, decisions of government agencies and court decisions affecting the union; problems of internal union government; and other problems confronting the international organization as a whole. While most of this ground is usually covered in the president's report, a great deal of detailed local information is often found in reports of organizers, district presidents and international vice-presidents with regional responsibilities.

Almost all of the unions studied publish financial statements, usually in the report of the treasurer or secretary-treasurer, and these statements are customarily audited. The danger of misappropriation of funds was illustrated repeatedly in early union experience, and international officers were gradually hedged about with constitutional provisions requiring multiple signature of checks, use of approved depositories, preparation of periodic financial statements and auditing of these statements by a public accountant. About three-quarters of the unions analyzed, including almost all of the older unions, publish very detailed reports showing amounts received from each local; the distribution of receipts among the general, benefit, strike, reserve and other types of union fund; and expenditures from each fund, detailed by objects and months or quarters. This material is sufficiently complete that one could write from it a satisfactory financial history of international unions in the United States. The financial condition of local unions is in general not reported in the publications of the international. Some internationals, however, have provided for a regular audit of the accounts of locals by an international official, and summaries of the position of each local are sometimes published either in the convention proceedings or the union journal.

Most of the unions studied have engaged in attempts to influence federal and state legislation. There was a marked increase in this type of activity during and after the first World War and another marked increase after 1933. Unions of government employees, which must look primarily to legislation rather than collective bargaining for betterment of their members' condition, devote their conventions very largely to a discussion of statutes recently enacted, or pending, or desired by the union. The railroad unions are also particularly active in promoting legislation, as are the unions of seamen, marine engineers, coal miners, retail clerks, barbers, and a number of other groups. The report of the president, the legislative representative or the legislative committee usually discusses in some detail the measures which the union has supported and opposed since the last convention. There is discussion also of problems which have arisen in the administration of existing labor legislation and of the ways in which the union has attempted to influence the administrative process. With the rapid growth of labor legislation in recent years, problems of interpreting and enforcing existing laws have grown steadily more important relative to problems of securing new legislation. Interest in federal legislation appears to have increased relative to interest in state legislation, but this impression may arise from the fact that

international union activities in Washington are more fully reported in their publications than activities at lower levels of government. Efforts to influence state legislation and municipal ordinances are frequently focussed through state and city federations of labor, many of which publish no proceedings and none of whose publications was included in the present study.

In some of the older craft unions, notably in the building trades, the officers' reports contain much detailed information on the administration of the union since the last convention. Perhaps most important are the details of appeals by members from decisions of local officers and the disposition of these appeals by the international officers. Some unions reprint virtually every letter which has been exchanged in connection with appeal cases. Other types of material frequently included are rulings by the international officers on disputed points of union law; lists of members admitted, fined and suspended; correspondence of the international officers with government agencies and other outside groups; and administration of the benefit funds, including in some cases the name of every member to whom benefits were paid, the amount paid and the circumstances. In most of the building trades unions this material constitutes more than ninety per cent of the convention proceedings and is very largely responsible for their formidable size.

This is by no means a complete enumeration of the content of officers' and committee reports. Some convention proceedings contain reports from the editor of the union journal, the general counsel of the union, the committee on officers' reports, the auditing committee and other committees. It should also be noted that not all officers' reports are submitted to union conventions. Where several years elapse between conventions, the officers sometimes prepare annual reports for the intermediate years, which are published either in the union journal or under separate cover.

Discussion of Resolutions

Next in importance to officers' reports are the resolutions submitted on matters of union administration and policy, including proposed amendments to the union's constitution. The unions which do not publish verbatim proceedings ordinarily list the resolutions received and indicate the action of the convention on each. As noted below, this material was not indexed because it consists of a multitude of very small items. It indicates the issues with which the union was concerned at a particular time, but it does not reveal the background of the issues or the conflicting opinions with-

in the membership concerning them. Much more useful are the verbatim proceedings, which, in addition to the text of each resolution, usually include the report of the resolutions committee (with a minority report where one was made), the discussion of the delegates on the issue, and the vote of the convention where a vote was taken. While much of this material was also omitted from the index through the exclusion of discussions containing less than five hundred words, most of the major issues debated in the conventions have been covered.

The divergence of opinion within a union on policy issues is probably not fully reflected in its convention discussions. Members of the resolutions committee are appointed by the international officers and are likely to favor their policies. Resolutions critical of existing union policies may be reported unfavorably, merged with other resolutions, or withdrawn under pressure. The most important decisions may be reached behind closed doors among the leaders of important factions in the union and may leave no trace in the convention proceedings. The prestige and political power of the international officers sometimes inhibits expression of contrary views by delegates, many of whom are inexperienced and others of whom are candidates for preferment in the union hierarchy. Careful reading, combined with a knowledge of convention strategy and of the personalities involved, is often necessary to detect the actual divisions of opinion which may lie beneath an appearance of harmony. There are, however, notable exceptions to this statement. In the Cigar Makers, the Electrical Workers, the Ladies' Garment Workers, the United Mine Workers, the Typographical Union and the Printing Pressmen, to cite only a few examples, there has frequently been virulent criticism of the international officers even when the latter were firmly in control of the union, and dissenting opinions have been rather fully aired.

The factional conflict which appears occasionally in almost every union and which is endemic in some unions is reflected in the resolutions submitted and the discussion on them. A major dispute can usually be seen gathering for some years before it reaches full intensity. When the crisis of the dispute is reached, there may be violent dissension on the convention floor or a sudden appearance of harmony due to the fact that one faction has been overpowered or has decided to withdraw from the convention. The aftermath of such a struggle frequently lingers on through several subsequent conventions. The years in which major crises have occurred in various unions are indicated in the analyses of their publications in later chapters.

Brief mention may be made of two other types of material. Convention proceedings typically contain a number of speeches, usually on very general subjects, by government officials, officials of other internationals and union federations, and other well-wishers. A good deal of space is also taken up by discussions of representation in the convention, points of procedure, the site of the next convention, and matters of routine union administration. Both types of material are largely barren from a research standpoint. The great majority of the items indexed were secured from officers' reports and almost all of the remainder from discussions of resolutions.

THE CONTENT OF THE PUBLICATIONS: OFFICIAL JOURNALS

While establishment of an official journal is usually one of the first acts of a new union, there have been numerous exceptions to this rule. In a few cases the journal antedated the union. The Carpenters' journal, for example, was created as a device for recruiting local carpenters' unions into an international organization, and was later taken over as the official organ of the international. Several other unions, including the Federal Employees, the Textile Workers, and the Trainmen, took over magazines which had previously been published under other auspices. On the other hand, some internationals had no journal for a considerable period after their formation. The period between the organization of the union and the creation of an official journal was thirty-seven years in the case of the Typographical Union, thirty-five years for the Bricklayers, thirty-one years for the Flint Glass Workers, eleven years for the Cigar Makers, seventeen years for the Longshoremens, thirty-one years for the Marine Engineers, and eleven years for the Textile Workers. In these cases the convention proceedings are of particular importance, since they provide the main record of the union's life before the journal was started.

A distinction should be drawn at the outset between the publications of the CIO internationals and those of most other unions. The great majority of the CIO internationals publish weekly newspapers rather than monthly magazines. Many of these were originally published as special industry editions of the *CIO News*, official organ of CIO headquarters. While most of them have now become independent publications, they retain a marked family resemblance. They usually contain a good deal of material identical with that appearing in the *News*—news stories on CIO activities and national events of significance to labor, as well as

articles, cartoons, columns of political comment and other features. To this is added news stories on developments within the union in question—the organizing, lobbying and bargaining campaigns being conducted by the international office, agreements negotiated with employers, the progress and outcome of strikes, and other outstanding local and national developments. Emphasis throughout the CIO publications is on news stories and editorialized news comment, giving a labor interpretation of national affairs as well as a coverage of more strictly union activities.

The journals of the other internationals are much more heterogeneous and therefore more difficult to describe. They tend in general toward a magazine format and a monthly publication period. But the size of the journal, the publication period, the format, the kinds of material included and the quality of the material vary from union to union and from time to time within the same union.

Certain types of material appear at one time or another in almost all the journals studied. The most important of these are: editorials and editorial comment; letters from members; news of local union activities; news of the activities and problems of the international organization; articles on trade unionism, economics, government and related subjects; official union notices; reports and documents of interest to members; articles on technical aspects of the trade; and more general material intended to inform or amuse the worker and his family. But while all trade union journalism is based on these elements, their quality and the proportions in which they are blended exhibit the widest variation. This variation may best be described by examining in turn each of the types of material listed.

Editorials

The journals usually give between two and four pages to editorial comment. While this is a small part of the space in most journals, a relatively large percentage of index entries was derived from editorial sections because of the relatively great length of the individual items. There does not seem to have been any marked trend in the amount of space given to editorials over the period studied. In some journals, including those of the Trainmen, Switchmen, Machinists and Musicians, the editorial section has been much reduced during the past twenty years; but in others, notably that of the Teamsters, it has been very considerably expanded. Many journals show an intermittent expansion and con-

traction of the editorial section with changes in editorship and editorial policy.

The most noticeable change over the period has been in the general content of editorial discussion. Until the first World War, the attention of most editors was confined rather closely to immediate union problems—organizing methods, economic objectives, union administration, relations with other unions, and similar matters. Along with this, as a minor theme, went very general discussions of trade unionism and other economic, political and social subjects. Editorials of this second type were due usually to personal interests of a particular editor, and were found most frequently in the journals of the Cigar Makers (1880-1912), Machinists (1895-1915), Patternmakers (1892-1928), Firemen (1882-1894), Switchmen (1903-1909), Trainmen (1889-1922) and Western Federation of Miners (1903-1914). During and after the first World War, and even more markedly after 1933, the growing involvement of trade unions in the processes of government led to a marked increase in editorial comment on national politics, legislative struggles, administration of labor legislation, national economic policy, and international affairs. This trend has perhaps been most noticeable in the journals of the Teamsters, Textile Workers, Bricklayers, Trainmen, Firemen, and Railway Clerks. Most journals continue to give a good deal of editorial space to immediate problems of union organization and policy. General discussions of political and social theories, however, occur less frequently than they did thirty or forty years ago.

Editorials generally express the views of the international officers and particularly of the international president, who is frequently the nominal editor and sometimes the actual editor of the journal. In large unions whose presidents are heavily burdened with other duties there has been a tendency toward the development of a specialized editorial staff, but even in these cases the international officers exercise supervision over editorial policy. In any struggle within the union, the journal is usually the organ of the dominant faction and shows scant sympathy to the opposition. Where the editor is elected a heterodox individual sometimes comes into office; but if he continues to follow an editorial policy opposed to the administration of the union, his career as editor is likely to be short. Examples are the expulsion of J. Vance Thompson, an IWW sympathizer, from the Seamen's Union in 1921 after less than a year as editor of the *Seamen's Journal*; and the removal of F. M. Cassidy, a socialist, from the editorship of the *Journal of the Switchmen's Union* in 1909 because of his failure to support

the policies and leadership of the union. The Typographical Union, on the other hand, which has a well-organized two-party system, frequently elects an editor from one party and a president from the other. In this event, the editor may use the journal to attack the policies of the president and to seek his defeat at the next election.

Letters from Members

Letters from corresponding secretaries of local unions and from individual union members formed a large part of most union journals in their early years. Other types of material were scarce, and editors exhorted the membership to come to the aid of the journal with letters. As other material became more plentiful, however, most of the journals reduced the proportion of space allowed for correspondence. Several important unions, including the Bricklayers and Musicians, have eliminated correspondence from their journals, and the newspapers of the industrial unions have rarely carried correspondence. A number of unions, including the Typographical Union, Patternmakers, Postal Clerks, and Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers, continue to maintain a flourishing correspondence section; but they are now in the minority in this respect.

Personal and social news bulks much the largest in the correspondence columns of most journals, and virtually all the correspondence in some journals is of this sort. Letters from the corresponding secretaries of locals are particularly likely to be filled with personal trivia. In some journals, however, one finds frequent discussions of local working conditions, local union activities, and problems of union organization and policy. This is true particularly of unions which use the referendum, since discussions of proposed referenda in the correspondence section of the journal to some extent take the place of discussions on the convention floor. Examples are the Machinists, the Typographical Union, the Paper Makers and, in the period 1880-1912, the Cigar Makers. In a few journals, notably those of the Cigar Makers, Locomotive Firemen, Western Federation of Miners, Patternmakers and Machinists, letters dealing with theories of trade unionism and political economy form a large proportion of the total. In general, letters dealing with theoretical issues, and even letters discussing union policies and problems appear to have become less frequent during the past twenty-five years. Such correspondence as remains in the journals is concerned increasingly with personalities and social events.

The letters which deal with theoretical and policy problems are significant in that they provide almost the only direct indication of the opinions of rank-and-file union members to be found in the publications. They do not, of course, provide a balanced picture of membership opinion. The members who write letters to the journal are probably not a representative sample of the total membership. Moreover, publication of heterodox opinions is frequently restricted or prevented as a matter of editorial policy. Many union constitutions prohibit discussion of religion, politics, and other divisive topics, and the editor may interpret "divisive" rather broadly. The editor of the *Maintenance of Way Workers'* journal, for example, stated in 1904: "No letter can be given space in the *Advocate* which makes public any of the private affairs of the order; neither will any be published which tend to produce friction or discord among the members, such as discussion of racial, religious or partisan topics."² Some editors, on the other hand, have gone to considerable pains to publish opinions on opposite sides of controversial questions. The excellence of the *Cigar Makers'* journal before 1912, for example, was due largely to its frequent publication of letters critical of union policies—often answered, to be sure, by a reaffirmation of the official position in the editorial columns.

News of Local Union Activities

Reports of local union activities formed an important element in most of the journals in their earlier years. In the beginning these reports consisted mainly of the letters from local corresponding secretaries which were mentioned above. With the development of paid organizers, special organizers' pages were set up in many journals, including those of the Machinists, Patternmakers, Textile Workers, and Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers. In these pages each organizer described his movements about the country, the strength and problems of the locals visited, conditions in union and non-union plants in each area, and strikes and negotiations in which he participated.

These types of material have become relatively less important during the past generation, and have disappeared entirely from many journals. This probably reflects the fact that most large internationals now have so many locals that it would be impossible to print even a representative sample of local activities, and also reflects the decline in the functions of local unions relative to the

2. See below, p. 67.

internationals. In most unions, officers' reports to conventions now provide a much better indication of developments in the locals than does the union journal.

National News Stories

News stories of national scope, on the other hand, have become increasingly important in most of the journals. Many journals from their inception carried stories of outstanding strikes, organizing drives, legislative campaigns and other activities of the international office. Not only have these stories become more numerous, but an increasing amount of attention has been paid to national events of significance to labor. This concern with national affairs is evidenced in editorial discussion, as indicated above, and also in the amount of space allotted to general news stories and news comment. Emphasis on news is of course most marked in those unions which publish weekly newspapers. Even among the monthly journals, however, many now place primary emphasis on national news. The journals of the Teamsters, Firemen, Bricklayers, and Boot and Shoe Workers—to mention only a few—attempt to give a general news coverage and to present a labor interpretation of national affairs.

Articles

Discussions of trade union history and theory, and of other political and economic problems, have been common in the journals from the beginning. Most of this material is reprinted from other sources. The most important sources are other union publications, notably *Labor* and the *American Federationist*, but there is some copying also from trade association journals, government reports, magazines and newspapers. Editors in search of "filler" have wielded the scissors on a wide variety of publications. Some editors, however, have been successful in inducing members and friends of their union to write articles especially for its journal. Outstanding in volume of original articles are the journals of the Bricklayers (1898-1909), Firemen (1886-1894), Cigar Makers (1880-1912), Western Federation of Miners (1903-1914), Boot and Shoe Workers (1900-1907), Textile Workers (1923-1937), Trainmen (1896-1922), Machinists (1895-1915 and since 1935), Electrical Workers (1926 to date), Teachers (1926 to date), Amalgamated Clothing Workers, and Ladies' Garment Workers (throughout).

Whether the volume of general articles, essays and commentaries printed in union journals has increased or decreased over the

period as a whole is very difficult to say. In some cases this type of material has expanded until it completely dominates the journal; examples are the journals of the Machinists' and Switchmen's unions. In other journals, including those of the Bricklayers, Patternmakers and Retail Clerks, much less space has been given to such material during the past decade than in earlier periods. The volume of articles, and particularly of reprinted articles, included in a journal often changes markedly with changes of editorship. An editor with definite ideas on editorial policy and time to spend in writing and seeking material may drastically reduce the amount of secondary material included.

Other Types of Material

The five types of material already described—editorials, letters from members, accounts of local union activities, national news stories and news comment, and articles on general subjects—make up much the greater part of the journals and include almost all the material of interest to the student of trade unionism. The remaining types of material may be discussed much more briefly.

Official notices and announcements occupied a large proportion of the space in many journals during their early years. Included under this head are such things as lists of locals and their secretaries, instructions from the international secretary or president to the locals, lists of strikes, lists of "unfair" shops, notices of coming referenda and results of past referenda, lists of locals admitted and suspended, lists of members expelled, suspended and reinstated, lists of travel cards or permits issued, notices of decisions of the international officers on appeal cases and points of union law. While much material of this sort continues to appear, its relative importance has considerably diminished.

Some journals publish a considerable amount of documentary material. Most of the railroad unions, for example, reprint arbitration awards and other important decisions under the Railway Labor Act. Unions of government employees frequently reprint material from the Congressional Record. Excerpts from court decisions, injunctions, government reports, and important speeches are printed in many journals. Some unions publish the texts of collective agreements negotiated with employers; others, notably the Typographical Union, print local union wage scales. In some unions, the journal carries frequent reports of officers' activities in addition to the periodic reports of officers to conventions. This is true also of financial reports, which appear regularly in a considerable number of journals.

Unions whose membership consists largely of skilled workers frequently carry many articles on technical trade subjects. This has been true notably of the Marine Engineers, the railroad operating trades, the printing trades and the building trades, but the tendency is by no means confined to manual occupations. The Musicians' journal in recent years has contained articles describing the technique of playing various instruments; the Teachers' journal contains material on educational methods; and even the Retail Clerks' journal for many years contained departments headed "Window Display," "Advertising," "Merchants' Corner," and "Snappy Suggestions for Salespeople."

General educational and recreational material intended to appeal to leisure-time interests of the worker and his family is included in many journals. The Electrical Workers' journal, for example, has since 1926 contained sections on general science and health hints, art appreciation, cartoons, serialized novels, and a woman's page containing household and fashion news. The journals of the railroad unions also contain a good deal of this type of material.

Summary

The main trends in the content of union journals since their inception may now be summarized. The tendency has been away from lengthy sections of official notices, detailed news from local unions, lengthy correspondence sections, and general discussions of systems of political economy and methods of political change. The trend has been toward news of the problems and activities of the international union, editorial comment on national affairs, and educational and recreational material designed to increase the attractiveness of the journal to members and their families. Several types of material, notably editorials on day-to-day problems of the union, articles on technical trade subjects, and articles and editorials reprinted from other journals, appear to have remained relatively stable throughout the period.

THE USES OF TRADE UNION PUBLICATIONS

Wise use of the publications just described depends on a clear perception of their biases and limitations. These are the official, therefore partisan, records of the union's struggles and achievements. They are partisan as between the union and employers, between this union and other unions, and between the dominant

faction in the union and insurgent groups. Because they are intended primarily for circulation within the union, they are likely to be more revealing than statements prepared for the purpose of influencing government agencies, employers or the public. But they are circulated for purposes of education and control, and make extensive use of symbols and precepts which require evaluation by the investigator.

Since the art of using union publications consists so largely in reading between the lines, their value depends to an unusual degree on the person using them. A document which to an untrained reader would be valueless or actually misleading, may in the hands of a skillful analyst become highly suggestive. The judgments which follow concerning the research usefulness of the publications assume a high level of insight and critical skill on the part of the investigator.

It is difficult to appraise the usefulness of trade union publications without at the same time discussing the usefulness of other types of documentary evidence and of direct observation. This would involve, however, a methodological essay not properly part of the present work. Other documentary sources will clearly be found useful for particular purposes. Thus, students of trade union government can learn much from the minutes, correspondence and other internal records of local and international unions. Studies of union objectives will benefit from examination of the texts of collective agreements, reports of bargaining conferences with employers, and briefs and testimony presented to government agencies. News stories in the daily press may indicate the tactics of a union and its opponents in a particular political or economic struggle. The *New York Times Index* will be found a valuable supplement to the present index for many purposes. Studies of the economic effects of union policies, and particularly of union wage policies, can draw on a steadily increasing supply of statistical data, either published or available in the files of business firms and government agencies.

It is equally clear that the totality of documentary material furnishes only one approach to the study of unionism. For certain types of problem, notably problems of union administration and politics, the participant-observer approach is probably most valuable. In other cases, interviews and systematic observation of test groups may yield information which could not be obtained otherwise. The value of direct observation, of course, is confined to studies of current behavior; for periods even a short distance in the past, reliance must be placed almost entirely on written mate-

rial. An attempt is made below to distinguish those aspects of current behavior for which the documentary approach is primary from those for which its function is to supplement the results of direct observation. With this exception, attention is concentrated entirely on what the publications here in question reveal about trade unionism, without attempting to compare their contribution with that of other sources or to venture on a general discussion of research methods.

The problems with which the student of trade unionism is concerned have been arranged for the present purpose in six groups: union government, union objectives, union beliefs and theories, union tactics, the economic effects of unionism, and the political and social effects of unionism.³ The usefulness of trade union publications will be discussed with reference to each of these groups of problems in the order listed.

Trade Union Government

A national trade union, like any large democratically-constituted organization, faces the problem of developing leadership which is sufficiently strong to counter external aggression and provide efficient internal administration, and which is yet closely responsive to the popular will and effectively prevented from trenching on the essential rights of the members. The problem is analogous in some respects to that of democratic government of a nation, and such (in the broadest meaning of the word) political concepts as federalism, civil rights, constitutionalism, bureaucracy, party politics and responsible government, may profitably be applied to the study of trade unions.

The mechanisms through which an international union is nominally controlled are usually set forth in great detail in its constitution. The actual control structure and the deviations of governmental practice from the constitutional norm are never explicitly described but must be judged from indirect evidence.

Several types of material throw light on the problem of responsible government in trade unions. Most of the discussions of union officers which appear in the publications are highly laudatory. Mingled with the praise, however, is occasional criticism,

3. This classification follows in general the pioneer analysis of Sidney and Beatrice Webb, *Industrial Democracy* (2nd ed.; London: Longmans, Green and Company, 1902). Other groupings of problems readily suggest themselves—for example, the adaptation of trade unions to technological and political changes. On examination, however, such groupings can usually be resolved into the six categories listed above.

often followed by the reply of the officer to his critics. The reply is sometimes more revealing than the criticism, as in the case of the president of the Pressmen's Union who, when charged with having made a fortune during his tenure of office, replied in effect that the figure of two million dollars was too high. There is considerable discussion of whether an officer exceeded his authority in taking a particular action. Instances of the removal of local officers and even of international officers are not infrequent. Reports of appeals taken by members from actions of local officers, and the disposition of these appeals by the international executive board, provide significant information on how far the constitutional rights of members are protected in practice.

In addition to the financial reports already mentioned, there has been in most unions extensive discussion of the level of dues, the division of dues between the locals and the international, the justifiability of special assessments, the salaries of international officers, and other aspects of financial administration.

The division of functions and powers between the international and the locals has been discussed extensively in most unions. An outstanding example is the recurrent discussion in United Mine Workers' conventions of whether district officials should be elected by the locals in the district or appointed by the international officers. The growing authority of the international headquarters in most unions can be traced in amendments to the constitution and in the convention reports of international officers. The circumstances under which international officers have revoked the charters of locals or disciplined them in other ways are also described in detail in the publications.

Factional struggles and personal political rivalries in unions can be followed to some extent in convention discussions and in letters and articles in the journal. The issues nominally in dispute, however, are frequently not the real issues, and the discussion may be so vituperative that it throws little light on the real issues. One occasionally finds a complete statement of the background of a dispute, particularly where two factions are so evenly balanced that neither is able to prevent publication of its opponent's position. On the whole, however, union publications are much less useful in studying union politics than in studying union administration. The political process must be observed directly, though documents may be useful in providing initial clues and in checking the results of direct observation.

The relative merit of craft unionism and industrial unionism has rarely been discussed by unionists in abstract terms, but

almost always in connection with some practical proposal for merger, affiliation or secession. The desirability of merging with other unions in the same industry was discussed extensively by the Switchmen and Brakemen during the nineties and by the Machinists between 1900 and 1920. The Papermakers, which was at the time an industrial organization, split in two during the early nineteen hundreds because of dissension between the skilled machine-tenders and other workers who felt that their interests were being subordinated to those of a craft group. Since 1935, discussion of the problem has been largely incidental to discussion of affiliation with or withdrawal from the AFL and CIO.

Descriptions of jurisdictional disputes and dual unionism abound in the publications. These problems arose at one time or another in almost every union studied, and some unions have had dozens of such struggles during their lifetime. The usefulness of this material is increased by the fact that different sides of a dispute can be examined by going to the publications of each of the participants, something which is rarely true of internal factional conflicts. A serious difficulty in studying inter-union disputes from the publications is the sporadic character of reporting and the frequent failure to record the outcome of a dispute—particularly where the result was unfavorable to the union in question. Additional information can sometimes be obtained from the proceedings of federations—notably the AFL and its trade departments—if the dispute came before them for adjustment. An especially large amount of material on jurisdictional disputes is to be found in the publications of the Carpenters, Electrical Workers, Machinists, Teamsters, Marine Engineers, Railway Clerks, Switchmen and Seamen. Outstanding instances of dual unionism are described in the publications of the AFL and CIO Longshoremen, the AFL and CIO Automobile Workers, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the United Garment Workers, the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (AFL) and the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (CIO), and the various unions of boot and shoe workers.

Trade Union Objectives

Trade union publications are the most accessible source and, for periods some distance in the past, almost the only source of information on the specific economic and political objectives which unions have sought and won. The other principal source is the texts of collective agreements, of which the United States Department of Labor has the largest collection in this country.

Information on union objectives appears mainly in those sections of the officers' reports which deal with collective bargaining and promotion of legislation. A good deal of material is found also in convention discussions; journal articles on outstanding campaigns such as the eight-hour day movement; lists of strikes and discussions of strike demands; editorial discussions and news stories on negotiations with employers and legislative measures; and the texts of collective agreements, arbitration awards, statutes and decisions of administrative agencies reprinted in the journals. Here one finds, set forth in many thousands of pages, the contract terms which have been sought from employers and the position which unions have taken on legislation governing wages, hours, working conditions, labor relations and other matters.

The pattern of union objectives stands forth rather clearly from the relative number of references secured under various index headings. The most obvious fact is the concentration of unionists' attention on direct and immediate economic benefits. Wages and hours are referred to far more frequently than any other union objectives. Next in importance are proposals concerning immigration and alien labor, industrial safety, workmen's compensation, union recognition and prevention of employer discrimination against union members, restriction on the use of injunctions in labor disputes, tariff legislation, and other government action to increase demand, regulate output, or raise prices in particular industries.

Government regulation of industry is rarely advocated in a general way or on grounds of principle. During the eighties and nineties there was much anti-trust agitation in union journals. But since that time, most regulatory proposals advanced by trade unionists have been intended to achieve direct benefits—usually a gain in employment—for a particular working group. The railroad brotherhoods want restraints on the competition of road and water transportation with the railroads. The Mine Workers want stabilization of prices and regularization of output in the coal industry. The Brewery Workers cooperated with the brewers in seeking repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment. The Seamen want subsidies for an American merchant marine. Most unions in manufacturing industry want tariff protection for their products. Union proposals for industrial regulation, in short, are generally advanced on behalf of the industry and are frequently supported jointly by employers and the union. The material thus appears to support the thesis that a mature trade union concentrates on enlarging and controlling the job opportunities available

to its members rather than on broad projects of political and social reform.

Statements of union demands are frequently accompanied by explanations of the reasons for the union's position. This material requires careful analysis to distinguish between stated and actual objectives and to discover the specific content of general slogans.

More valuable than the explicit justifications of union policy are the factual descriptions, frequently introduced only incidentally or perhaps appearing in another part of the publications, of the economic and political circumstances attending the union's demands. Examples are the extensive discussion of working and living conditions on shipboard in the Seamen's union, of the impact of technological change in the Musicians, Cigar Makers, and Flint Glass Workers, of the migration of industry to the Southern states in the Textile Workers and Hosiery Workers, and of salary conditions in the Railway Clerks. From these descriptions the investigator can draw his own conclusions about the relation between economic circumstance and union policy.

The abundance and variety of the material poses difficult problems of classification and interpretation. The outside investigator tends to impute to trade unions a set of logical objectives and to fit specific union actions into this arbitrary framework. He tends to assume that he already knows the mental pattern from which certain demands have emerged. Such an assumption is clearly unjustified and is likely to yield very misleading results. Apprenticeship regulations, for example, may appear at first glance to be a method of restricting the number engaged in a trade and securing a monopoly return; closer examination indicates, however, that they do not usually have this result.⁴

It is necessary to adhere as strictly as possible to the inductive method, and to allow both categories and interpretation to emerge from the data instead of being deduced logically and then read into the data. It is significant that the writers who have generalized most successfully about trade union objectives—notably the Webbs, Commons, Hoxie, Perlman and Slichter—have applied a careful inductive approach to a wide range of documentary and other material.

4. See the discussion of this problem in S. H. Slichter, *Union Policies and Industrial Management* (Washington: Brookings Institution, 1941), Ch. 2.

Trade Union Beliefs and Theories

Trade union publications contain few explicit statements of political or economic theory. The index headings which were constructed to cover such statements yielded relatively few references. In general, unionists' beliefs concerning the operation of political and economic institutions are implicit in the arguments advanced in support of specific policies and demands. For example, there are few discussions which an economist would recognize as dealing with wage theory. But certain assumptions about wage determination and about the relation between wage rates and employment underlie most union arguments for wage increases. It is not necessary here to debate the relation of these assumptions and beliefs to trade union action.⁵ Without passing judgment on this matter, one can attempt by inductive methods to trace the patterns of thought to which trade unionists adhere. Such an analysis of the implicit political economy of trade unionism is an interesting and important task.

The factors influencing wage rates and the consequences of raising or lowering wages are discussed much more extensively than any other economic subject. The content of this discussion is less than its volume would suggest, since many of the same arguments are repeated in one union after another. This very repetition, however, indicates the general prevalence of certain beliefs about wages throughout the trade union world. Next in importance are discussions of working hours and unemployment. Discussions of "the business cycle" occur very rarely before the thirties; but unemployment has been recognized as a major problem from the beginning of unionism and the publications contain proposals for every sort of remedy from thrift and temperance to abolition of the capitalist system. In the discussions of wages, hours, and unemployment there is naturally a great deal of overlapping—for example, all three may be combined in a proposal to reduce weekly hours from forty to thirty without reducing weekly earnings. The other economic subjects most frequently discussed in the publications are tariffs, taxation, money and credit, and the distribution of wealth.

The publications contain extensive criticism of the capitalist system coupled with advocacy of socialism or some other alterna-

5. See the discussions of this subject in Vilfredo Pareto, *The Mind and Society* (English translation of the *Trattato di Sociologia Generale*) (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1935); Talcott Parsons, *The Structure of Social Action* (New York: McGraw-Hill Company, 1937); and Robert M. MacIver, *Social Causation* (Boston and New York: Ginn and Company, 1942).

tive. Criticisms of the existing order are usually a good deal longer and more detailed than proposals for a substitute and the bulk of this material has therefore been indexed under the heading "capitalism, criticisms" rather than under "socialism" or "communism." The question of social classes and class struggle has been raised both explicitly and in discussions which tacitly assume a basic similarity or difference of interest between worker and employer. Related to this are frequent discussions of the tactics of social change and the proper relation of trade unions to political parties. The question whether labor should organize its own political party or bargain with the Republican and Democratic parties has been discussed at some length in almost all the unions studied. In general, the most extensive political discussions occur in the publications of unions which have either contained strong left-wing elements or have faced strong competition from left-wing unions; examples are the Industrial Workers of the World, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the Ladies' Garment Workers, the Seamen and the Longshoremen. There has also been active political discussion, however, in unions in which leftist sentiment has never achieved major proportions, including the Cigar Makers, the Machinists, the Marine Engineers, and several of the railroad unions.

The other subject most frequently expounded in the publications is the philosophy, objectives and achievements of trade unionism. While some of these expositions have descriptive value, most of them are essentially statements of faith.

The difficulties of exploiting this material are formidable. Discussions which appear to be on the same subject may not really be so because of the use of undefined general terms which carry different meanings in different contexts. The views of a particular writer may not reflect those of other members of the union. On political subjects in particular, several conflicting viewpoints are usually in existence at any time, and their relative prevalence among workers may be quite different from their prevalence in trade union literature. These difficulties, however, are inherent in the subject and not merely in the documents. Satisfactory interview material would be even more difficult to obtain and could not be obtained at all for past periods.⁶ Documentary

6. The fact that many present-day union leaders have been in office for twenty-five or thirty years is no objection to this statement. The views of these men have changed substantially since their younger days, and the changes can probably be traced more accurately by reading what they have said in print during the past thirty years than by listening to what they say now about the past. The views which they now hold bias their memories, and they are apt to do less than justice to their earlier views.

sources, carefully handled and properly supplemented by direct observation, probably provide the best approach available to the political economy of trade unionism.

Trade Union Tactics

The ways in which unions go about getting what they want are revealed by descriptions of union activities. Reports to union conventions by legislative committees, legislative representatives and other international officers indicate the methods by which legislation can be promoted or blocked. For example, the reports of the president of the Machinists' District 44, which includes machinists employed in navy yards and other government establishments, consist very largely of a detailed account of his legislative activities—what congressmen he interested in each measure, what groups were at work on the opposing side, and what the final outcome was. The proceedings of other unions of government employees and of the railroad brotherhoods are also particularly rich in this sort of material.

Reports of instances in which a union has supported or opposed a candidate for political office occur quite frequently in the publications. Officers' reports and journal editorials contain occasional statements on presidential elections, relations with the major political parties, and the union's attitude toward state and local labor parties. The actual relations between union leaders and political party organizations, however, like the internal politics of the unions themselves, must for the most part be observed directly. This is particularly true of state and city politics.

The publications contain many accounts of organizing campaigns and a very large number of reports of individual strikes. These accounts are not very analytical, however, and tend to emphasize sensational incidents. Most of the innumerable strike stories center on reasons for the strike, use of strikebreakers by the employer, outbreaks of violence, and other outstanding events. Rarely do they give a clear picture of the tactics employed by both sides and of the factors which determined the outcome of the strike. Indeed, if the strike is lost, news of it may disappear suddenly from the journal, and only after months or even years is there a brief notice that the strike has been called off. This tends to be true also of organizing campaigns which failed and of other unsuccessful union ventures.

With respect to collective bargaining tactics, the publications contain many descriptions of the sequence of moves and counter-moves by employer and union which preceded the signing of a

particular agreement. There are also occasional instances in which a union officer has tried to generalize about the technique of collective bargaining and about such related subjects as the area of the agreement, the location of responsibility on the union side, and the problems of enforcement.

The publications contain also a great deal of material on employer tactics in dealing, or refusing to deal, with trade unions and on other aspects of employers' personnel policies. This material is heavily weighted with adverse criticism and some of it is mere name-calling. Whether or not the descriptions of employer practices are accurate, they indicate the way these practices appear to trade unionists, and in labor relations this is a more important factor than the actual intent of the employer.

The Economic Effects of Trade Unionism

Turning from the operation of trade unions to the effects of union operations, one encounters an array of problems on which union publications are of only minor assistance. This is so partly because the data required are peculiarly varied and complex, and partly because the unit of investigation is frequently a plant or an area rather than an industry, which is the unit covered by most union publications.

The difficulty of studying the economic impact of trade unionism is primarily one of measurement rather than of analysis. Economists would agree that the problem breaks down into such sub-problems as the effects on the structure of the labor market, the size and composition of the working force, the incidence of employment and unemployment, the level and structure of wage rates, the length of the working day and week, the level of manhour output, the rate of technical progress, the location and structure of industry, and the nature of competition in product markets. Moreover, economic analysis provides an abundance of hypotheses concerning the possible effects of trade union activities on each of these matters.

The difficulties appear when one attempts a quantitative test of these hypotheses. Union policies are only one of many factors operating simultaneously on wages, hours, labor productivity and employment. Even with the best effort to take account of the influences of other factors, conclusions about the effects of unionism can rarely be more than informed conjecture. The problem is further complicated by the fact that unionism itself may have a mixed effect; for example, some union policies may tend to raise man-hour output and others to lower it.

The statements about a union's economic achievements which appear in its publications are subject to obvious biases. More valuable are factual statements about wages, working methods and other characteristics of the industry at various points of time. These can be used, however, only in studies for which an industry is the unit of investigation. For many types of study a different type of unit is appropriate. The best unit for studying the effect of a trade union on labor productivity, for example, is a plant or a department within a plant, while studies of the effect of unionism on labor market structure must take a local labor market as the unit.

An industry can serve as the primary unit for studies of the effect of unionism on wage levels and wage structure, on working hours, on the location and structure of industry, and on the character of competition in the product market. For such studies, trade union publications frequently provide a good general introduction to the industry and may also provide specific pieces of information which would be difficult to find elsewhere. For example, in an investigation undertaken by one of the writers into the effect of union policies on the wage structure of the pulp and paper industry, the publications of the two unions in the industry provided information on the plants covered by union contracts, the date on which each plant was first brought under contract, the wage changes in each union plant year by year, the union's wage objectives for each year, and its general technique of negotiation with employers. In this case the information obtained from the union publications and from subsequent interviews with union officers was an indispensable element in the investigation. In general, however, one can say merely that union publications provide a limited amount of usable material which must be collated with a much larger volume of material drawn from other sources.

The Political and Social Effects of Trade Unionism

Any complete appraisal of trade unionism must take account not merely of its economic effects but also of its political and social consequences. Work in this field involves not only the difficulties already noted with respect to economic studies but additional difficulties due to the lack of an adequate framework of analysis and the scarcity of reliable data. To a much greater extent than in the case of economic studies, the data needed are qualitative, unrecorded in any published source, obtainable only by direct observation based on a relatively small unit of study, and subject to erroneous interpretation by the observer.

The contribution which can be made by trade union publications is more limited than in any of the fields previously discussed. They reveal a good deal about workers' attitudes toward their jobs and their supervisors, and about the changes which unionism makes in these attitudes. They also indicate some of the effects of unionism on the political attitudes and political participation of workers, on the content of legislation, and on public administration. Most studies of the political and social effects of unionism, however, require direct observation of a plant, a community, a local union or a group of workers over a considerable period. Union publications can, at best, make only slight additions to the results of direct observation.

It is relevant here to point out that many investigations not concerned primarily with trade unionism can profitably make use of trade union materials. A student engaged in tracing the development of a political or social theory, for example, may want to examine its prevalence among trade unionists at a particular time. A scholar concerned with representation of economic interest groups before legislative or administrative agencies may want evidence of the activity of trade union leaders in such matters. A student of constitutionalism may find interesting parallels between the problem of combining individual liberty and responsible government in the trade union and in the political state. With a view to this use of the material, many of the concepts used in branches of social science other than economics have been included in the system of index headings adopted here. Under these headings political scientists, historians, social psychologists and sociologists will find material on working-class life and thought which is relevant to a wide variety of problems.

Conclusion

The types of investigation surveyed above divide themselves into two groups. In one group are studies of the internal politics of trade unions, studies of union tactics, and studies of the economic, political and social effects of union activities. These investigations must be pursued primarily by direct observation and by using types of documentary material not found in union publications. Trade union publications may suggest hypotheses at the outset of such investigation and may supplement the other sources in some particulars, but their contribution is strictly subordinate.

In the second group are studies of union objectives, studies of the beliefs and theories of trade unionists, and studies of certain

aspects of trade union structure and administration. In these types of study, union publications not only help in framing initial hypotheses but also provide a large part of the subject-matter to be investigated. Some field investigation will usually be found necessary, but in many cases the great bulk of the evidence needed can be wrung out of the publications. The major scientific usefulness of trade union publications lies in these three areas, and above all in the analysis of trade union objectives.

An important issue in this connection is the usefulness of studies which trace the experience of a particular union, as compared with studies which draw together the experience of all unions on a particular subject—for example, wage policies, or policies toward hiring and discharge. These may be termed single-union and single-phase studies respectively. Both types of study are historical, although the single-phase study involves a more difficult task of historical generalization, since it must interpret the experience of a considerable number of unions. The single-union study has the advantage of comprehending the total trade union situation in a craft or industry. Observation of changes in this situation over time may yield hypotheses about social causation which could not be obtained in any other way. On the other hand, an analysis of one union cannot yield generalizations about unionism in general, and it is doubtful whether even a series of single-union studies can provide a basis for such generalizations. A single-phase study can yield valid generalizations about the one subject with which it is concerned, but since it comprehends only this segment of union experience, it has difficulty in relating this aspect to other aspects of unionism and in developing adequate hypotheses about causal relationships.

The single-phase type of study appears much more difficult to do and probably is somewhat more difficult. Moreover, in the absence of a subject-matter index, single-phase studies have in the past required an excessive amount of reading and sifting of material. Whether for these or other reasons, the specialized literature of American trade unionism is made up predominantly of single-union studies. Scarcely any union of importance remains uncovered by a monograph, doctoral dissertation or article, and some of the older unions have been covered several times. These studies, however, differ greatly in method of approach and quality of results. They vary all the way from pseudo-historical narratives which do little more than recount dates and places, to analytical studies which attempt to describe the total development of the union and to place it in its economic context. Because of this

unevenness, they have not provided a firm basis for more general work on trade unionism. Scholars who have attempted broad synthetic studies, while they have made such use as was possible of the single-union studies, have been obliged to go behind them and to rework the primary materials in their own way.

The number of single-phase studies which have appeared during the past twenty-five years is much smaller, but their average quality is appreciably higher. It seems likely that future progress toward an understanding of trade unionism will be achieved mainly through studies of this type, though careful single-union studies can also play a valuable role. To facilitate an increased flow of cross-sectional, generalizing studies was the major object of the present undertaking. Whether the tools provided are adequate to the task the user of the index must judge.

CHAPTER 2

A Discussion of Methods

The reader who intends to use these volumes for research purposes should not proceed without some knowledge of the methods used in preparing them and the consequent limitations on their usefulness. A scholar with many years of research experience, who was consulted during the planning stage of this enterprise, predicted: "When you are all through, then you will know how you should have done it." Three years of work have emphasized the accuracy of this observation. No one had ever attempted to prepare a comprehensive index in this field. Not only the specific objectives of the study but almost all the necessary techniques had to be developed with little guidance from similar work. A great deal of experimentation and even some re-definition of objectives was necessary during the first months of work. The value of the methods finally evolved can be determined only as investigators employ these volumes in studies of trade unionism and related subjects.

The original objective was to open up the stores of data in trade union journals and convention proceedings by preparing a subject index. A logical outgrowth of this undertaking was a bibliography of the journals, proceedings, and constitutions of all important international unions. But to prepare an adequate bibliography, it was frequently necessary to trace the confusing mergers, secessions, and affiliations of these unions because they resulted in name changes of importance to a bibliographer. Experience demonstrated that such chronologies are often essential for the interpretation of bibliographical listings, and they have therefore been prepared for all unions represented in this volume. Moreover, the research assistants who were responsible for indexing inevitably acquired an intimate familiarity with the publications of the unions which were assigned to them. The indexers were therefore asked to write analytical descriptions of the publications they had covered, indicating among other things the usefulness of each union's publications as a research source. As the value of the indexers' unique knowledge of the publications became more apparent, increasing stress was placed upon these reports, and they were made the basis for the critiques of trade union publications which appear in Part II of this volume. The methods used in preparing each of these types of product—the index, the critiques

of union publications, and the chronological and bibliographical data—will be discussed in turn.

THE INDEX

Development of Subject Headings

The first step in indexing was to develop an adequate list of subject headings. This task was somewhat like that of a taxonomist who sets out to classify and describe biological specimens. The categories set up in the beginning should be both comprehensive and mutually exclusive. They should include all of the theoretical concepts of social science which are relevant to an analysis of the behavior of trade unions and trade union members. The index headings should be sufficiently numerous to achieve adequate classification of the material, but not so numerous as to involve extensive overlapping and undue difficulty in using the index. Experience indicated that there was in this case no precisely determinable optimum number of headings; the number finally adopted was based primarily on considerations of convenience rather than on any logical standard.

Three main sources were drawn upon for headings: book indexes, consultation with students of trade unionism, and the union publications themselves. The indexes of about seventy-five general works and monographs on labor, economics, history, labor legislation and related topics were examined first. Many of these were mainly lists of names with scarcely any analytical headings and only a few proved helpful. After a preliminary list of headings had been assembled, the list was circulated among people with research experience in the field of trade unionism and related fields, and a considerable number of useful additions and suggestions were received. Finally, during all of the preceding stages, much time had been spent in trial indexing—*i. e.*, sampling volumes from many different unions, attempting to classify all the material under the preliminary headings and devising new headings wherever necessary. This proved to be by far the most productive method of developing headings, and even after actual indexing had begun it was necessary constantly to revise the list of headings. Each new union indexed added a handful of terms not previously encountered, and the broadening or finer subdivision of old headings was frequently necessary. Adding new terms created no great problems, but in revising old headings much care was essential to avoid changing or subdividing an established heading in such fashion as to necessitate reclassification of a large number of index

references. The list continued to grow and undergo revision until the last union was indexed. When the project began, the list contained some two hundred headings; it now contains about fifteen hundred.

A necessary accompaniment of the development of index headings was the careful definition of those headings which were not clearly self-explanatory. These definitions will be found at the beginning of Volume II. It should be noted here that distinctions not generally recognized were sometimes necessary to demarcate two closely related headings and avoid overlapping.

Classifying the Data

After a reasonably adequate set of categories had been obtained, the difficult task of fitting items into these categories was begun. Even though the majority of items were easily, almost mechanically, classified, some cases required exacting analysis, and there were always a few which defied classification under any existing heading. Research into the practices and terminology of an industry was frequently required. For example, the Bricklayers' Union at one time discussed "tuckpointing" at some length. Investigation disclosed that tuckpointing was a form of dilution of skill and should therefore be classified under "technological change—dilution of skill—tuckpointing". The unions in the glass and paper industries, among others, use a great deal of technical language which required translation into the terminology of the index headings. In another case, members of a local union had (during the prohibition era) set up a speakeasy in the local meeting hall. After due consideration, this was classified under "auxiliary activities of unions, not officially sponsored." When an unclassifiable item was encountered, a description of it was written and filed in a "miscellaneous box"; this box was culled periodically by devising new headings where several similar unclassifiable items had been found.

An even more perplexing problem was to determine what material should be included in the index and what should be left out. There were two possible extremes: to index everything encountered in the publications, sentence by sentence where necessary; or to index only those subjects which were discussed voluminously in a particular union. After some experimentation, it was decided to eliminate completely certain types of material, and to index all other items only if they were at least five hundred words in length (or, in rare cases, four hundred words). This procedure is admittedly arbitrary, but some quantitative standard was essential

because it proved quite impossible to set any objective qualitative standards. A sampling of many union publications showed that a large proportion of editorials and letters from members were between five hundred and one thousand words in length, and that relatively few items of any significance were less than five hundred words long. A limit as high as one thousand words would therefore have excluded much material of considerable value, while a limit as low as two hundred and fifty words would have admitted a great many trivial items. The five hundred word limit does make it necessary, however, to caution the user of the index that the fact that there are no index references to a particular subject does not necessarily mean that the subject has never been mentioned.

Certain types of material were eliminated from indexing because they appeared to be of practically no value for research purposes. The excluded categories are:

(1) Material reprinted or summarized from another source, and strictly factual accounts of national affairs or the affairs of other unions. Some union journals rely heavily on matter reprinted from other labor periodicals, from magazines and newspapers, or from reports of government agencies. Although in a few cases—particularly in the case of local newspaper stories—this secondary material would be of some use, the arguments against indexing it are cogent. In addition to the fact that most investigators would prefer the original source, much material would have to be indexed several times over if reprints were included. Unions sometimes include in their publications statements submitted to government agencies and congressional committees; unless such material had been published as part of a government report, it was not considered secondary and was therefore indexed.

(2) Convention resolutions and constitutional amendments, unless accompanied by four or five hundred words of discussion. Because this material is so voluminous—some unions publish separate volumes of convention resolutions and proposed constitutional changes—and in many cases indicates only the opinion of a single individual, all of it was excluded from indexing unless it provoked a fair amount of discussion on the convention floor.

(3) Pointless, trivial, rambling, or otherwise useless material. This exclusion was narrowly construed, to eliminate only material which was so badly written as to be incomprehensible, discussions touching quite briefly on a number of unrelated topics, brief obitu-

aries, descriptions of picnics and other social affairs, and other material of like nature.

(4) Factual or technical material not directly related to unionism. This includes the sections in many union journals devoted to technical instruction: for example, courses in the problems of practical carpentry, or series of articles on the structure of locomotives. Such material also appears frequently in the correspondence sections of journals.

(5) Fiction, travelogues, or other matter included only for its entertainment value.

(6) Foreign language sections of official journals.

(7) In general, material contributed by persons outside the labor movement. An example of this material is a long series of articles on the general subject of churches and labor, written by a retired minister, which appeared in a large number of union journals over a period of years. Speeches to union conventions by mayors and other "official greeters," and also by bearers of fraternal greetings from other unions, were excluded; but a speech by a government official to a union convention on a subject of concern to the union was indexed.

This list is not absolutely comprehensive, and there are a few exceptions under each heading. In general, however, unless an item clearly fell under one of the preceding headings, it was indexed if it met the five hundred word standard.

Reference Forms

A more technical problem of indexing was the development of reference forms. Early experience with the material indicated that it could be divided for this purpose into three main categories: single items, series of single items, and recurrent material. Although each required some specialized treatment, the same basic reference form was used for all. The technical details of these reference forms are explained in Volume II and need not be repeated here. It should be pointed out, however, that brevity was an important consideration because of the large number of references involved. This dictated the adoption of code numbers to be used in place of the names of unions, and the use of initials for various types of publications—J for journals, P for proceedings, Pres R for presidents' reports, and so on.

A single item, as indicated above, was defined as a connected discussion of five hundred words or more in length. The single-item reference form was designed to give the precise location of

the item, but the nature of the material made it impossible to indicate whether a particular reference was to an editorial, article, letter, speech, report, or something else. In too many cases it would have been impossible to draw the line between editorials and articles, reports and speeches, and so on. The elements of the single-item reference therefore are: 1, the code number for the union; 2, the symbol for the publication; 3, the volume number; 4, the date; 5, the page reference; and (rarely) 6, a word or two to identify or classify the items more accurately. Thus this type of reference reads as follows:

K6: J—17 Jan 1938 pp 56-58.

Indexing experience soon revealed a marked tendency in both journals and convention proceedings toward series of items on a particular subject, extending over several months or even over a period of years. For example, several unions debated at great length the merits of particular types of benefit plans. In these cases, individual index references soon accumulated in burdensome numbers. A form of combination reference was therefore worked out to cover such cases. This was called a "blanket reference." It has been used to indicate the weeks or months (in the case of journals) or the years (in the case of convention proceedings) in which considerable numbers of single items on the specified subject can be found, without indicating the pages on which the items occur. After some experimentation with attempts to locate items with the aid of reference forms lacking specific page citations, the quantitative standards for the use of this form explained in Volume II were developed. It is true that the abbreviated blanket reference is somewhat less convenient for the user than a more specific reference; but without this device the size of the index would have been greatly increased without any proportionate increase in convenience for the user. In the blanket reference not only the page numbers but also the volume numbers are omitted because the reference frequently overlaps two or more volumes. Thus a blanket reference reads:

K6: J—Jan-Aug 1938.

The recurrent material includes all items appearing regularly under approximately the same heading and in the same form over a period of time. Some of these recurring items deal with a single subject only, such as texts of collective bargaining agreements or the status of union benefit funds, and some deal with a heterogeneous assortment of topics under such headings as "News from Locals" or "The Labor Movement in Review." The homogeneous

recurrent material was simply indexed under an existing subject heading, using an adaptation of the blanket reference plus the symbol "re" to indicate that it was recurrent material. A brief description of the item was usually included also. Thus the recurrent item reference (without the description) reads:

K6: J—Sep 1918-June 1936 re.

The heterogenous recurring items have been classified as well as possible and they will be found, with complete descriptions of each, in Volume II.

Indexing Procedure

The usual practice in indexing was to assign all the publications of a union to one research assistant, and also to assign related unions to the same person. The process of indexing did not require careful reading, except when the occasional hard-to-classify item was encountered. Indexers were instructed to skim instead of reading, examining each article, editorial, letter, speech or other item only long enough to identify its subject matter and write a reference on a 3 x 5 index card. Some of the indexers became sufficiently skilled in this technique to index a volume of 750 pages, from which 150 references might be harvested, in three or four hours.

In classifying items for the index, interpretation was held to a minimum. When Harry Bridges was called a communist in the publications, the item was indexed under "communists" without any attempt to determine the truth of the allegation. When the railroad brotherhoods argued for full-crew laws on grounds of public safety, the arguments were indexed under "full-crew laws"; when such laws were criticized as being designed merely to increase employment, the criticism was indexed under both "full-crew laws" and "make-work rules and policies." Moreover, except for the general rules governing the inclusion of material described above, material was not selected or rejected for indexing on the basis of its apparent quality. Much material has therefore been indexed which is probably of little value for any conceivable purpose; but this had to be so unless we were to substitute the indexer's judgment concerning the value of material for the judgment of the user of the index. The object was to locate for the investigator all the material which might prove valuable for his purposes, but to leave to him, as far as possible, the task of sifting, evaluating, and interpreting the material. In spite of all efforts to keep the index a neutral scientific instrument, however, the results which the

investigator can obtain have doubtless been conditioned to some extent by our techniques and our system of classification.

THE CRITIQUES

Despite the speed of the work, each indexer inevitably accumulated much information on the general character of his union's publications and acquired considerable insight into the affairs of the union. Shortly after work on the first unions had been completed, each indexer was asked to write a brief critique of the publications of the union on which he had worked. As these critiques accumulated, their value as an aid to the use of trade union materials became increasingly apparent, and greater emphasis was therefore laid on careful preparation of them as a major part of the project. Begun as memoranda of approximately a thousand words, differing widely from each other in content, the critiques were soon lengthened and uniform standards for them were established.

Every effort was made to avoid value judgments in describing the publications. Some of the publications are of very low quality, while others are obviously well-edited and highly valuable as source material. It proved unprofitable, however, to try to compare the value judgments of a number of different people working on quite heterogeneous material, and it was decided to describe the publications as completely as possible in objective terms and allow the reader to draw his own conclusions about their quality. The critiques set forth in detail the evidence from which one may conclude that the publications under review are "bad" or "good," "worthless" or "valuable," but without explicitly stating the conclusion. Similarly the reports express no judgments on the policies, controversies, personalities and events described.

In general, the critiques contain four main types of information. They describe the general nature of the publications—the relative importance of editorials, letters, articles, secondary material and other components at various times; the important events in the history of the union—strikes, internal fights, secessions, organizing campaigns and the like—which may be reflected in the publications; factors in the government or structure of the union which have affected its publications, *e. g.*, the use of initiative and referendum, which often stimulates extensive debate on policy issues in the union journal; and the objectives and problems most voluminously discussed in the publications.

The analyses will be found to vary considerably in content and style, for two chief reasons. They are based on reports by fourteen members of the indexing staff and, although these reports have been substantially edited and in most cases completely rewritten by the authors, some differences of individual approach remain in the final product. Much of the diversity, however, results from variation in the publications described. The critiques are not intended to be brief histories of the unions treated, but in some cases a union's publications are so infused with the life and philosophy of the organization that an adequate summary of the publications is necessarily a sketch of the union's history as well. The IWW is an example. At the opposite extreme, the journal and convention proceedings of the union may reveal practically nothing of what is happening to it or of the problems it faces. This is particularly true of some of the building trades unions. In still other cases, the published material yields much discussion of major issues before the union but relatively little of the union's history. Although indexers occasionally consulted secondary works for assistance in indexing difficult items and in untangling a union's history, the critiques are based exclusively on the publications indexed and thus reflect the inadequacies, biases, or gaps of the original material.

The critiques will probably prove useful primarily as a guide to subjects of research. A student considering a study of a particular union will find the appropriate critique helpful in estimating the usefulness of the union's publications; where his choice is not definitely fixed, the critiques may help him to determine which of several unions will best repay investigation. Again, reading a considerable number of the critiques will suggest many generalizing studies of the types described in Chapter 1. In the actual conduct of an investigation, the critiques and the index references will tend to complement each other. When the index contains many items on a certain subject in a particular union, the critique of that union's publications will usually provide a connected discussion of the context in which the items appear and the general nature of the material. Conversely, the reader can go from the critique, which locates material in a general fashion, to the specific references contained in the index.

THE BIBLIOGRAPHICAL GUIDE

The aspect of the project yet to be described is the bibliographical guide, which together with the critiques constitutes Part

II of this volume. We have found about 275 national or international unions which have published at least one complete volume of an official journal or two convention proceedings. For each of these unions, the guide provides a chronology of its history, including the dates of organization, name changes, mergers, absorptions, secessions, affiliations, and the present name and address, if the union is still in existence; a list of the union's published convention proceedings and constitutions; and the dates of publication of the union's official journal, together with name changes, suspensions and irregularities in volume numbering. For all unions indexed the guide includes a list of editors of the official journal, with the dates of their service.

Chronologies

The chronology of the unions is functionally related to the bibliographical data. In many instances the bibliography could not be understood without, for example, a list of the various names under which an international union has existed at different times. Similarly, knowledge of mergers, secessions, and absorptions is essential in tracing down a series of convention proceedings or constitutions. The need for such information became apparent at an early stage in the preparation of the bibliographies, and it was compiled originally for the use of the staff. It is published here in the belief that it will prove generally useful as reference material.

The historical information was drawn from numerous sources. Three editions of the Bureau of Labor Statistics publication, *Handbook of American Trade Unions*, proved useful on many points. The proceedings of the fiftieth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in 1932, contains a list of all unions ever affiliated with that body, with the date of organization, the date of affiliation with the AFL, and (in some cases) the date of suspension, expulsion, or withdrawal from the AFL. The catalogues of the libraries of Johns Hopkins University, the United States Department of Labor and the John Crerar Library in Chicago were consulted. An unpublished manuscript, "Chronology of National Trade Unions", prepared about 1915 by T. W. Glocker, was also used with the permission of the author. For some of the older unions, the *Report of the Industrial Commissioner on Labor Organizations* (1901) provided helpful material. Finally, histories of the labor movement or of particular unions were indispensable. In the numerous cases in which two or more of these sources were in conflict, the conflict was resolved by going to the union publica-

tions wherever possible or by addressing inquiries to the officers of the union involved. When, despite all this, it finally proved impossible to verify a date or name, the most likely was used, followed by a question mark in brackets.

Bibliographical Listings

The bibliographical listings are based upon the collections of trade union proceedings, constitutions, and journals in the U. S. Department of Labor Library, the John Crerar Library, the Wisconsin Historical Society Library,¹ and the Johns Hopkins University Library. Any volume of convention proceedings which is given unqualified listing, or any constitution listed, has been found in one of the four libraries or, in a few instances, at the union's headquarters. Where proceedings are listed in brackets, this indicates that a convention was held in the year listed, but no published proceedings have been found. If it is known that no proceedings were published, the convention is not listed. Officers' reports to conventions have been listed only when they are not published as an integral part of the convention proceedings.

The words "annual," "biennial," etc., have been used in the listings to show when certain volumes were published, and this usage does not always agree with the wording actually found on the material. Some unions use a dual system of numbering—*e. g.*, "28th consecutive and 4th biennial," "3rd regular and 1st constitutional," "12th national and 6th triennial"; some start numbering all over again after changing the frequency of conventions, so that one will be the 5th biennial and the next the 1st triennial; others start renumbering after important mergers; and some occasionally term conventions "annual", "biennial", etc., without regard to the number of years which have actually elapsed between conventions. To have followed such usages in the listings would have served only to confuse the reader. For the same reason, the term "proceedings" has been used regardless of the title given to the document by the union, and "convention" has similarly been used without regard to the union's terminology. In the listings of constitutions, each date given is the date of adoption or revision, unless starred (*), in which case it is the date on which the constitution became effective and is the only date on the material.

1. In this library only the catalogue cards for convention proceedings and constitutions could be checked. Union journals are catalogued under the city of publication rather than the name of the union, and the journals themselves are not filed in such a way as to be readily accessible.

In the case of journals, a listing does not necessarily mean that every issue of the publication has been found in one of the four libraries, because serial numbering is *prima facie* evidence of regular publication. Once the date of founding is established, successive volume numbers can be taken as good evidence of the publication of the intervening volumes unless suspension or irregularities in enumeration have been discovered. Wherever irregularities or suspensions have been found, they are noted in the bibliography. Such notes will be found rather frequently, because many unions are casual in their numbering procedure, repeating or skipping volume numbers without any break in the continuity of the publication, and because hard times frequently overtake union publications and force temporary suspensions. Occasionally, too, as with the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers from 1908 to 1914, a union will be split into two factions each of which claims the official union name, and which publish two journals with identical names.

When the same union has had different official organs at different periods in its history, this fact is reported simply as a name change of the organ. In all cases the dates indicate when the name change became effective. The expression "1941+" in these listings means at least to the end of 1941. No changes in name or editorship effective after that date have been noted except in a few cases to eliminate possible confusion. Changes in editorship, noted for all journals indexed, have been taken from the material. In some cases, of course, an officer of the international union is officially listed as the editor of the journal when he serves merely in a nominal capacity, delegating control of the publication to an unnamed subordinate. The listings of the editors must be read with that qualification in mind. They have been included because some of the famous figures in the labor movement have been editors of journals, and because frequently a change in editorship has resulted in a major change in the journal.

The specific holdings of the four libraries represented in the bibliography have not been indicated. This would be a partial duplication of the function of the *Union List of Serials*,² which gives that information for practically all of the important libraries in the United States and Canada. That reference work should be used in connection with the present volume by those who wish to know the location of specific pieces of material.

2. *Union List of Serials in the Libraries of the United States and Canada*, ed. Winifred Gregory (2nd ed.; New York: H. W. Wilson Company, 1943).

INTERPRETATION OF BIBLIOGRAPHICAL LISTINGS: SUMMARY

1. *Name of union*: The name is that given on official publications of the union.
2. *Address*: Address is that of the official headquarters or mailing address of the union or, if the union has no headquarters, the address of the president or secretary of the union.
3. *Question Marks*: A questioned date means that no definite date could be ascertained, and the date given is the most likely. A questioned item with no date signifies that no basis existed for estimating the date.
4. *Use of (q. v.)*: A union followed by (q. v.) is one which is mentioned elsewhere in Volume I, Part II, and can be located by reference to the detailed list of unions which appears at the end of Volume I.
5. *Code Number*: Code numbers (A1, A2, etc.) are those used in Volumes II and III to identify index references to the publications of a particular union. Code numbers are given, therefore, only for unions which were indexed.
6. *Proceedings*: Both the date and number of each convention have been given wherever they could be ascertained.

Brackets enclosing numbers and dates of proceedings (e. g., [5th, 1873]) indicate that it is known that a convention was held in that year but it is not known whether proceedings were published. If it is known that proceedings were not published, the convention is not listed. Omission of a convention may also mean that no information was available concerning the date of the convention, or whether any was held. Conventions have been numbered consecutively, and the numbering used here does not necessarily agree with that used on the publications. The phrase "*with journal*" indicates that the proceedings were published either in an issue of the journal, in instalments running through several issues of the journal, as an entire regular or special issue of the journal, or as a supplement to the journal. Unless otherwise noted, the proceedings appeared in an issue or issues of the journal published relatively soon after the convention was held.

7. *Reports*: Only those officers' reports which were printed separately from the proceedings are listed. Omission of a date does not indicate that no reports were published that year, but only that no reports were published separately from the proceedings that year. Separate pagination of reports has been taken as *prima facie* evidence that the reports were published separately. "*With journal*" indicates that the reports were published in the journal in one of the ways noted under "Proceedings."

If reports are listed as "Officers," all officers' reports were published together. If a report is listed for president, secretary, editor, etc., each was published as separate report.

Semi-annual, quarterly, and monthly reports have not been listed.

8. *Constitutions*: Dates given are those of adoption unless marked with an asterisk, in which case the date listed is the one on which the constitution became effective and is the only date on the constitution.

9. *Journal*: Publication places are indicated opposite "published as"; the last place listed is that in which the journal was last published, or in which it was being published at the end of 1941.

1941+ indicates the name of the journal or editor at the end of 1941.

Names of journals are those given on the title pages of the journal unless otherwise noted.

Three dots (...) preceding or following the words "Journal," "Magazine," etc., signify that the complete and exact name of the union formed the remainder of the title.

10. *Terms and abbreviations used*:

| | |
|------------------|--|
| ann..... | annual |
| bien..... | biennial |
| trien..... | triennial |
| quad..... | quadrennial |
| quin..... | quinquennial |
| conv..... | convention |
| spec..... | special |
| v. and vs..... | volume and volumes |
| no. and nos..... | number and numbers |
| NS..... | new series (new volume enumeration) begun |

PART II



CHAPTER 3

Transportation: Railroads*

CONDUCTORS, ORDER OF SLEEPING CAR

Address: Room 253, Union Station, Kansas City, Mo.

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1918 Organized as Order of Sleeping Car Employees.
1919 Affiliated with AFL as Order of Sleeping Car Conductors.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
[1st, 1919]; 3rd, 1925; 5th, 1931; 7th, 1937
2. Constitutions.
1918; 1919; trien. 1922-1931; 1937
3. Journal.
Published as: (Kansas City, Mo.)
1918-1941+ : *The Sleeping Car Conductor*

CONDUCTORS OF AMERICA, ORDER OF RAILWAY

Address: Cedar Rapids, Iowa.

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1868 Organized as Conductors' Union.
1869 Changed name to Conductors' Brotherhood of the United States.
1877 Changed name to Conductors' Brotherhood of the United States and Canada.
1878 Adopted present name.
1888 Seceding faction organized Brotherhood of Railway Conductors.
1891 Absorbed Brotherhood of Railway Conductors.

* Other than Shop Crafts.

II. PUBLICATIONS (Code Number: C6)

1. Proceedings.
1st-8th ann., 1868-1885; 19th-23rd ann., 1887-1891;
24th-34th bien., 1893-1913; 35th-41st trien., 1916-1934;
42nd, 1941
2. Reports.
Officers: 1941
3. Constitutions.
ann. 1868-1881; 1887; 1888; 1890; bien. 1891-1913; trien.
1916-1934; 1941 (1868-1881 *with* proceedings)
4. Journal.
Published as: (Cedar Rapids, Iowa)
1884-Jul 1899: *Railway Conductors Monthly*
Aug 1899-1941+: *The Railway Conductor*
Editors:
1884-1885: Calvin S. Wheaton
1886: William P. Daniels
1887-Jun 30, 1889: Calvin S. Wheaton
Jul 1, 1889-May 1890: Erwin H. Belnap
Jun 1890-Jun 1893: William P. Daniels
Jul 1893-Jun 1906: E. E. Clark
Jul 1906-Feb 1909: C. D. Kellogg
Mar 1909-Jan 1927: F. H. Pease
Feb 1927-1941+: John R. T. Rives

III. CRITIQUE OF PUBLICATIONS

Second of the groups of railroad workers to organize (1868), the conductors were among the last to establish themselves as a trade union employing the strike weapon to enforce their demands. The objectives and methods of the Order of Railway Conductors in the early years must be obtained from the brief proceedings of its annual conventions. The broad objectives of the union as stated in 1868 were to "more effectively combine the interests of railroad conductors; to elevate their standing as such, and characters as men." In its early years the union promoted temperance to reform character, and instituted a mutual benefit program for its members. The latter program established a pattern which influenced the policy of the union into the period of the thirties.

While interest in wage bargaining began to develop in the early seventies, the organization continued for some time longer to place its faith in the employer's willingness to reward "honest toil." By encouraging temperance and technical competence, the Order hoped to render its members worthy of such consideration. In

1885, however, the union convention authorized local committees to bargain with employers. The success of this policy was indicated in the following year, when the union claimed to have advanced wages and established seniority on a number of roads.

Between 1885 and 1891 the union experienced two secessionist movements which can be followed in its publications. The first, resulting from a demand for separate organization of passenger and freight conductors, was localized around Philadelphia. The second developed as a protest against the no-strike policy of the Order of Railway Conductors, and resulted in the abandonment of that policy. A dual union, the Brotherhood of Railway Conductors, was organized by those dissenting from the no-strike policy. Although the membership of the Order did not suffer greatly, President Wheaton complained that antagonism and dissension among those who stayed in the Order had resulted in a virtual paralysis of its functions. To end the paralysis he asked for a vote of confidence on the no-strike policy. The result was a decisive defeat. Wheaton left the Order to found his own organization based on the no-strike principle, and the Brotherhood, having won the fundamental change in policy which it sought, returned in 1891 to the parent organization.

After this period of strife, the order gained steadily, though never spectacularly, in strength. Toward 1900, a growing interest in politics was reflected in positive action to influence legislation. This first took the form of promoting the interests of the railroads by opposing rate reductions and tax increases, but quickly developed into pressure exerted jointly with other railroad unions for employers' liability laws and safety legislation. State legislative committees were authorized and a national legislative representative was appointed. By 1913, alarm began to be voiced in union conventions that legislative activities had been stressed at the expense of collective bargaining.

The union did not establish the *Railway Conductors Monthly* until 1884. Prior to this time, it had published *The Conductors' Brotherhood Journal* about 1873 and the *Railroad Conductors' Brotherhood Magazine* (1875-1878). In 1882 it was reported that *The Railroader*, a privately published magazine, had been used as the official journal.

The *Railway Conductors Monthly* consisted very largely of editorials, letters from members, and a miscellany including fiction and technical articles. The subject matter of the journal in the early years reflected the union's interest in death and disability plans, temperance, and the promotion of efficiency. Before the

crisis of 1890, scarcely any members objected to the views of the editor in condemning the Knights of Labor and the Switchmen for their strike policy, and in defending the right of employers to blacklist strikers and to use troops to protect strikebreakers and prevent damage to property.

After 1890 letters from members became longer and covered a wider variety of subjects. Throughout the journal's history, a large proportion of the correspondence was concerned with such local matters as attendance at union meetings, elections of officers, and social affairs. Many letters contained pleas to pay dues promptly, to attend meetings, and to show a brotherly attitude. Another recurrent theme was the great responsibility resting on the conductor, and the high qualifications demanded of him; tales of hazardous experiences on the road, arguments for limiting admission to the trade, for wage increases, and for safety appliances built upon this theme. But broader issues were by no means neglected. A keen interest in the railroad industry was shown in the early years in arguments against Populist laws, later in discussions of the advisability of government regulation or operation of railroads, and still more recently in concern over growing competition from other types of carriers. Other subjects which have at one period or another occupied a prominent place in the correspondence columns include the union's benefit plans, the frequency and cost of union conventions, seniority and promotion rules, hiring discrimination by employers based on age or physical condition, workmen's compensation laws, the eight-hour day or other limitations on hours of work, and the unemployment problem.

The subjects treated in editorials also became more general after about 1900. The majority of editorials dealt with such topics as immigration, court decisions, and legislation, and contained extensive quotations from court rulings, governmental reports, speeches of prominent persons, and newspaper sources. Editorials became much shorter after 1910 and were made up increasingly of reprinted material. Not until the thirties did a substantial amount of original comment and opinion again appear in the journal, and then it was published in the president's page rather than in editorial form.

The chief source for expressions of official policy is not the union journal but the convention proceedings, and particularly the presidents' reports. These reports described the union's collective bargaining activities and the results achieved, its relations with other internationals, the appeals taken by locals and members to the international officers, and the officers' recommendations for

changes in the laws of the Order. The detail in which these items were treated varied from very brief notices of agreements signed and grievances handled to long reports on negotiations or rulings concerning the technical details of seniority systems. Financial reports and reports of convention committees were also printed in full, but discussion in the convention was printed verbatim only from 1888 to 1922.

The evolution of the ORC's collective bargaining techniques can be followed in the *Railway Conductor* prior to 1900, and after this time in the convention proceedings. A trend toward system federations and negotiation of contracts jointly with other railroad unions, particularly the Trainmen, developed in the nineties and resulted in the formation of the Federation of American Railway Employees in 1897. The constitution of this organization provided for individual action by member unions unless a strike was contemplated, in which case all the unions were to join in attempting to settle the dispute, and where necessary, in taking a ballot for a joint strike. The failure of this plan for cooperative action led to a return to system federations. In 1903, the Conductors began bargaining by districts and continued this practice until the first World War set the stage for national negotiation. In the twenties some dissatisfaction was expressed with the results of co-operation among the sixteen railroad brotherhoods, which, the ORC contended, wished to bring about an undesirable reduction in the differentials between trades. During the thirties, however, the Order seemed well satisfied with the work of the Railway Labor Executives Association.

Despite the early struggle over strike policy, the ORC has engaged in few strikes and there has been little mention of these in the journal, convention proceedings, or officers' reports.

The question of relations with the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen was of major importance to the Order, and occupied many pages in the convention proceedings. In its early years, the Order of Railway Conductors admitted yardmen, brakemen, and switchmen though it never attempted to bargain for these groups. After the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen developed a strong organization among these groups, each union found itself with members claimed by the other.

Since conductors' vacancies were filled by promoting brakemen, the ORC drew its membership wholly from the Trainmen's union. A brakeman was often reluctant to relinquish his claim to insurance benefits in the Trainmen's union, and therefore retained membership in both organizations. Antagonism to these "double-

headers" was apparent in 1901 when the ORC excluded them as delegates to the convention and from collective bargaining committees. Ill feeling between the Conductors and Trainmen continued to become more acute until a jurisdictional agreement, usually referred to as the Cleveland compact, was signed in 1919. By its terms the ORC was to represent only road conductors, assistant conductors, and ticket collectors who had qualified as conductors, and all members of the Trainmen's union in these jobs were to be turned over to the ORC. The Trainmen, however, were dissatisfied with the provisions concerning division of work and seniority and abrogated the compact in 1925. In 1932 another agreement was signed, only to be abrogated in 1934, after which time each union undertook raids on the other's membership. Proposals to merge the ORC and BRT were made by the latter in 1931 and 1934, but were rejected by the ORC. By 1941, another truce had been declared between the two unions, but no formal agreement had been signed.

The Order early established a substantial system of death, disability, and accident benefits, and many members have always identified the union primarily with insurance. Membership in the Order's death and disability plan was made compulsory in 1891. The provisions of this plan were later liberalized and other types of insurance provision were added from time to time, including a relief department for destitute members, old age pensions, accident insurance, and a home for aged members. Poor investments made during the twenties for a time threatened the entire insurance structure, and by 1941 all of the plans except death-disability insurance and accident insurance had been abandoned. The death-disability insurance was reorganized in 1931 to put it on a sound actuarial basis, in spite of the fact that many members withdrew from the union because of the increased rates and assessments necessary to maintain solvency. By 1940, the membership of the union was slightly more than half of that claimed in 1925.

ENGINEERS, BROTHERHOOD OF LOCOMOTIVE

Address: 1118 Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers Bldg.,
Cleveland

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1863 Organized as Brotherhood of the Footboard.
- 1864 Adopted present name.

II. PUBLICATIONS (Code Number: E3)

1. Proceedings.

1st-3rd ann., 1864-1866; spec., Jun 1866; 4th-10th ann., 1867-1873; [11th, 1874; 12th, 1875]; 13th, 1876; [14th-17th ann., 1877-1880]; 18th, 1881; [19th, 1882]; 20th-29th ann., 1883-1892; 30th-39th bien., 1894-1912; 40th, 1915; 41st, 1918 (5th, 7th-10th *with* journal. Published, but not for general circulation, after 1918)

2. Reports.

Secretary-Treasurer: 1892

3. Constitutions.

1863; bien. 1866-1870; bien. 1871-1877; bien. 1880-1884; bien. 1885-1889; bien. 1890-1912; trien. 1915-1936

4. Journal.

Published as: (Cleveland)

1867-1869: *Locomotive Engineers' Monthly Journal*

1870-1879: *Engineers' Monthly Journal*

1880-1885: *Locomotive Engineers' Monthly Journal*

1886-1887: *Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers' Monthly Journal*

1888-1901: *Locomotive Engineers' Monthly Journal*

1902-1903: *Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers' Monthly Journal*

1904-1906: *Locomotive Engineers' Monthly Journal*

1907-1941+: *Locomotive Engineers' Journal*

(Titles given are those shown on title page, except for volumes for which no title pages were available. In such cases, 1867-1869; 1880-1885; 1888-1901; 1904-1906, the running title, which was *Locomotive Engineers' Monthly Journal* up to 1915 and *Locomotive Engineers' Journal* afterwards, is given.)

Editors:

1867-Jun 1869: S. R. Mudge

Jul 1869-1884?: F. G. A. E. Fellows

1885?-Jun 1894: H. C. Hays
Jul 1894-Feb 1922: C. H. Salmon
Mar 1923-Nov 1927: A. F. Coyle
Dec 1927-Jul 1933: Carl Rudolph
Aug 1933-1941+: Paul M. Smith

III. CRITIQUE OF PUBLICATIONS

The journal of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers was first published in 1867, three years after the organization of the union. The early journals consisted largely of "inspirational" articles, technical information, letters from members, and fiction. Most of the articles and letters dealt with such general subjects as temperance and the pride of the engineer in his work. While these same types of material made up the journal for the next fifty years, their relative importance changed with the passage of time. Articles and letters from members decreased, while the technical section was enlarged and more space was given to news from locals and districts.

About 1913 the union began reprinting articles from other union journals and from government sources. From this time on reprinted material increased steadily in importance. By 1925 reprinted material and technical articles constituted about one-half of the journal, and by 1941 this proportion had increased to three-quarters. News from locals and districts continued to form an important element in the journal. Letters from members, however, had fallen to a very low level, and the few which remained contained only personal trivia. Editorials were brief and rarely mentioned anything which was not of direct concern to railroad employees, though in earlier times the editorial section had dealt rather broadly with the problems of organized labor.

Railroad accidents received more attention in the Engineers' journal than any other subject. The importance of this problem throughout the union's history was shown by the monthly lists of benefit payments to the families of engineers killed while on duty. Articles appeared frequently describing conditions which make for railroad accidents, recommending changes which would make railroad work safer, and urging the engineers to be eternally on guard. Cases in which engineers were prosecuted for negligence and manslaughter were discussed, the journal emphasizing that in the majority of accidents the engineers were not to blame. In the earlier years, the relation between fatigue and accidents was one of the Engineers' strongest arguments for shorter working hours and better working conditions.

The first shorter-hours campaign was waged for the elimination of all Sunday work except for the transportation of perishables. The movement was unsuccessful and was abandoned around 1892. In 1914 the journal began to urge abolition of the federal law which provided for a maximum working period of sixteen hours and substitution of an eight-hour law with overtime pay. Conferences of the railroad unions with employers were unsuccessful. When it appeared that the unions would strike, President Wilson intervened in the dispute, and at the end of 1916 secured the passage of the Adamson Act. This act provided overtime payment for hours in excess of eight per day for workers on railroads engaged in interstate traffic.

Because responsibility for railroad accidents was always attributed to engineers, the Brotherhood was much interested in maintaining a high level of competence among its members. To this end, the technical section was inserted in the journal. Some engineers believed that to insure competence, a federal law requiring the licensing of engineers should be passed. Although this subject was much discussed in the journal from 1867 to about 1910, the desired legislation was never secured. The Brotherhood was also interested in the temperance question because engineers were often accused of contributing to accidents by over-indulgence in alcohol. The word sobriety was one of the key words of the union's motto, and many members were expelled for drinking. Although temperance was discussed from time to time throughout the union's history, it was mentioned less frequently in later years.

Considerable space was devoted to disputes between the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen. The first major dispute occurred when the Engineers in 1885 passed a law requiring all members to renounce their membership in other labor organizations within ninety days of joining the Brotherhood. This meant that members of the Firemen's Brotherhood who were promoted to engineers and joined the Engineers' union had to renounce their membership in the Firemen's union. In retaliation, the Firemen began to organize engineers, and in 1906 changed their name to the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen. From this date on the conflicting jurisdictional claims of the two groups received much attention. The Engineers' journal frequently reprinted excerpts from the Firemen's journal and followed these with an editorial rebuttal.

Attempts were made to regulate the rivalry of the two groups for jobs through agreements governing the order in which engineering

vacancies were to be filled. These generally provided that a certain percentage of unemployed engineers were to be hired first, after which any remaining jobs were to be filled by promoting firemen. Most famous and successful was the Chicago Joint Agreement, which was instituted about 1915 and enforced until 1921, when it was dissolved by the Engineers. After 1921, joint action was abandoned and the Locomotive Engineers for the most part controlled the hiring of engineers.

Efforts to solve the jurisdictional problem by merging the two unions were made from 1890 on. Various conventions of the Engineers' union established committees to meet with the Firemen and discuss proposals to amalgamate. In the late twenties it seemed likely that the merger would be accomplished, but in the final negotiations neither union was willing to sacrifice its sovereignty. No further attempts at mergers were made.

Discussion of union benefit plans occupied much space in the journal, especially before 1890. Because of the large number of fatal accidents among engineers, the need for a death benefit plan was evident. In 1867 the Locomotive Engineers' Mutual Life Assurance Association, the first cooperative insurance association in America, was founded. Subsequent discussions in the journal concerned the advisability of extending the union's life insurance program or of making it compulsory. Disability insurance was also an important issue during the Brotherhood's early years. In 1869 the Locomotive Engineers established a disability insurance plan, which was temporarily abandoned in 1871 and restored about 1880. From about 1870 to 1900 the Brotherhood considered proposals to build a home for its disabled and retired members. Many members believed the union was unable to afford a home, and after much debate the project was finally abandoned.

The Brotherhood also ventured into the fields of real estate, banking, and mining, and these activities were frequently discussed in the journal. A large office building was constructed by the union in Cleveland in the early nineteen-hundreds. The Locomotive Engineers Cooperative National Bank was organized in Cleveland in 1920 and branches were established in various parts of the country; only members of the Brotherhood were permitted to purchase stock. Partly to find an outlet for the bank's capital, a coal mine was bought in 1921, stock in the mine being sold to non-members as well as members. In 1926 the Brotherhood bought a considerable amount of land in the vicinity of Venice, Florida, part of the money being raised through stock subscriptions by members of the union. When real estate values in Florida

collapsed, the Brotherhood suffered very large losses. In 1927 the president and several other executive officers of the union were expelled on charges of financial mismanagement. A belated attempt was made to straighten out the union's financial affairs, but the damage had already been done. The Brotherhood was forced to sell the bank and the office building, and the mine and the real estate development were written off as almost complete losses.

Problems of seniority and division of work were discussed extensively, particularly during depression periods. Each depression produced proposals to divide the available work by limiting the mileage which an engineer might make in a month. These proposals naturally produced dissension between the older engineers with high seniority who were regularly employed and the younger unemployed engineer who stood to benefit from mileage limitations. In general, the older engineers dominated union policy and the only mileage limitations adopted were such as they were willing to accept.

The question of government operation of the railroads was frequently discussed in the journal, discussion reaching a peak in 1918-1920. During the period of wartime government operation, the journal defended government management and opposed the return of the railroads to private control. When the issue became acute after the war, the journal devoted much space to material sent out by the Plumb Plan League and to editorials recommending the Plumb Plan. Even after the railroads had been returned to private management, articles continued to appear advocating either government operation or government ownership. There was also extensive discussion of the Transportation Act of 1920, the Railway Labor Act of 1926, and the amendments to the Railway Labor Act of 1934. By 1935 railroad labor relations legislation had reached a state generally acceptable to the Brotherhood and discussion of the subject declined.

The growth of highway and water transportation constituted a serious competitive threat to the railroads during the twenties and thirties. The journal devoted much space to advocating government regulation of trucking, opposing the St. Lawrence Waterway, and proposing other methods of combating the competitive menace.

The size of the union's conventions was an important issue from 1867 to 1910, and from 1929 to 1934. Most of the members felt that a better system of representation could be worked out, and that smaller conventions would be more efficient as well as less expensive. There was also discussion of the frequency of con-

ventions, which eventuated in a shift from annual to biennial conventions in 1890, and to triennial meetings in 1915.

The proceedings of the conventions from 1867 to 1906 were summaries containing little or no discussion. The reports of officers and the speeches of guests to the convention were printed in full, and the resolutions passed by the convention were listed. The president's report usually discussed the main problems confronting the Brotherhood, including benefit plans, strikes, accidents, and legislation. A financial report, listing receipts from locals and expenditures of the international, was usually included in the officers' reports.

Beginning in 1906 more discussion of proposed resolutions was included, and from 1912 onward the proceedings were verbatim reports of the conventions. In these later proceedings a great deal of space was devoted to appeals of members from the decisions handed down by officers of the international. Proceedings of the conventions after 1918 were not available for indexing because of a union policy, established originally in 1900, but not strictly enforced until 1918, restricting the circulation of convention proceedings to union members.

EXPRESS WORKERS, AMERICAN FEDERATION OF

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1925 Organized by seceding faction of express company employees from Brotherhood of Railway Clerks (*q.v.*).
- 1928 Absorbed by Brotherhood of Railway Clerks.

II. PUBLICATIONS

- 1. Constitutions.
1925

- 2. Journal.

Published as: (Washington)

Feb 1926: *International Express Worker*

Mar 1926-Oct 1927: *Express Workers' Journal* (Ceased publication)

EXPRESSMEN, ORDER OF RAILWAY

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1919 Organized by seceding faction of Brotherhood of Railway Clerks (*q. v.*).
 1928 Absorbed by Brotherhood of Railway Clerks.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
[1919]; 2nd, 1921; 3rd, 1923; 4th, 1926
2. Constitutions.
bien. 1919-1923
3. Journal.
Published as: (Chicago; Wisconsin Rapids, Wis.)
1919-1928: *The Railway Expressmen* (Ceased publication)

FIREMEN AND ENGINEMEN, BROTHERHOOD OF LOCOMOTIVE

Address: 318 Keith Bldg., Cleveland

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1873 Organized as Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen.
 1878 Merged with International Firemen's Union.
 1889 Affiliated with The Supreme Council of United Orders of Railway Employes (*q. v.*).
 1906 Adopted present name.

II. PUBLICATIONS (Code Number: F1)

1. Proceedings.
[1st-13th ann., 1874-1886; 14th-15th bien., 1888-1890; 16th bien., 1892; 17th-25th bien., 1894-1910; 26th-32nd trien., 1913-1931; 33rd, 1937; 34th, 1941] (Published, but not for general circulation)
2. Reports.
Officers: 1874-1941 (in conv. years)
3. Constitutions.
ann. 1881-1886; bien. 1888-1910; trien. 1913-1931; 1937

4. Journal.

Published as: (Terra Haute, Ind.; Peoria, Ill.; Indianapolis; Columbus, Ohio; Chicago; Indianapolis; Mount Morris, Ill.; Cleveland)

Dec 1876-1885: *Firemen's Magazine*

1886-Jun 1902: *Locomotive Firemen's Magazine*

Jul 1902-1906: . . . *Magazine*

1907-1941+: . . . *Magazine*

Editors:

1876-1878: I. J. Bennett

1879-1880: William N. Sayre

1881-1894: Eugene V. Debs

1895-1903: William S. Carter

1904-1937: John F. McNamee

1938-Sep 1941: Robert L. Glenn

Oct 1941+: Ray Scott

III. CRITIQUE OF PUBLICATIONS

For several years after its establishment in 1876, the journal of the Firemen's union emphasized entertainment and gave special prominence to reprinted articles and fiction. Considerable space was also given, however, to editorials and correspondence. The editorials were very general, treating such matters as the objectives of the union, the wealth-producing power of labor, and the virtues of truthfulness, temperance, and responsibility. The editor, Eugene V. Debs, was also, as grand secretary and treasurer, the chief policy-making officer of the union. Debs' opposition to strikes and his belief in arbitration as the solution to labor disputes dominated editorial policy. Correspondence was divided into special correspondence, which consisted of general essays on trade union and economic problems, and regular correspondence, discussing local events and conditions, the extent of union organization, and social and personal matters. The letters printed agreed with Debs' editorial policies.

In 1886 the no-strike policy of the union gave way to a more aggressive stand. The first strikes in the Brotherhood's history, against the Brooklyn Elevated Railway and the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad, occurred in 1887. With this change in union policy, the emphasis of the journal shifted from entertainment to education. Editorials dealt increasingly with topics of particular interest to members as trade unionists and railroad men. National news items and articles on purely technical subjects appeared for the first time, though not in great volume. During the last three years of Debs' tenure a special essay section largely

replaced the editorials. These essays, contributed by both union and non-union writers, dealt with such general subjects as economic theory, monopoly, and civilization. Letters from the membership formed the main source of information on union affairs, but these continued to avoid controversial subjects.

With the resignation of Debs and the election of Carter as editor in 1894, the journal shifted from general to technical education. By 1902, fully one-half of each issue was devoted to technical and mechanical subjects and the journal became virtually a text book for firemen. Correspondence reverted to a discussion of local news. Increased prominence was given to national affairs, and a section devoted to clippings from the contemporary labor press was included.

In 1917 the journal assumed substantially its present form. Technical articles were removed from their prominent position and major emphasis has since been placed on news. A predominant interest in politics and legislation is evident in the content of editorials and the selection of news items. Editorials have ranged over a wide variety of topics, covering everything from foreign affairs to specific union and industry problems.

The content of the journal reflects the major problems facing the union throughout its history. The Firemen very early established a comprehensive system of benefit plans and now claim to have the largest beneficiary department of any union, including payments for disability, old age, death, and funeral expenses. Concern with the beneficiary department was indicated by the regular appearance of letters and articles advocating changes or defending the existing system, in addition to the regular summaries of amounts received and paid out which appeared in every issue. The Firemen's pride in their own insurance plans was shown by the attacks which were made on company-sponsored group insurance which first became popular during the late eighties and again in the twenties.

The union has faced serious problems in its relations with other railroad unions, particularly the Locomotive Engineers. From the strikes of 1888 and particularly the disastrous Chicago, Burlington & Quincy strike, Debs drew the conclusion that a strong federation of all the railroad brotherhoods was essential, and from 1888 to 1891 he devoted his time unceasingly to the achievement of this end. The Supreme Council of the United Order of Railway Employees, a federation including the Firemen, Brakemen, and Switchmen, was eventually formed. The collapse of this federation because of dissension between the Brakemen and Switchmen

led Debs to believe that the solution lay in a single railroad union. The result was his formation of the American Railway Union and the unsuccessful Pullman strike of 1894 which virtually wrecked the Firemen's organization.

Controversy between the Firemen and the Locomotive Engineers was most acute during the periods 1885-1891, 1905-1909, and 1928-1931. These periods were marked by the development of rules restricting Firemen from membership in the Engineers' union and by frequent jurisdictional disputes, peace agreements, and proposals to amalgamate. Although various conventions of the Firemen authorized committees of officers to meet with the Engineers to discuss amalgamation, no agreement on the subject was ever reached.

The Brotherhood of Firemen, like the other railroad brotherhoods, has been particularly interested in political and legislative activities. From the nineties on, permanent lobbies were maintained, in conjunction with the other brotherhoods, in Washington, Ottawa, and almost every state capital. The reports of these legislative boards were published regularly in the journal and provided a complete picture of their work. By 1903 the boards were actively supporting candidates for office, though not until 1920 was this done on a large scale in almost every state. In 1924 the union actively supported Robert M. LaFollette for president and Franklin Roosevelt was supported for reelection in 1936 and 1940.

A major legislative interest of the union was the enactment of laws compelling the installation of such safety devices as automatic couplers and air brakes. Between 1906 and 1915 the legislative boards were very active in promoting state and federal employer liability laws. Another major undertaking of the boards in the twenties was to secure a railroad labor relations act to their liking, which the Transportation Act of 1920 was not. These efforts led to the Railway Labor Act of 1926 and the amendments of 1934, which set up adjustment boards such as the Firemen had demanded ever since their experience with similar boards during the first World War.

After 1920 and particularly after 1929, the Firemen were faced with decreasing employment opportunities due to the introduction of diesel and electric locomotives, consolidations of railroad systems, competition of motor carriers, waterways, and airplanes with railroads, and decreased passenger and freight tonnage due to economic depression. The union's efforts to alleviate this situation took two main forms—first, proposals for strict government regulation of competing forms of transportation, for safeguarding em-

ployment opportunities in consolidations, and for full crew laws; and second, changes in union rules governing seniority and restriction of mileage, which enabled the declining volume of work to be divided more equitably among union members. Demands for a six-hour day also figured prominently in all negotiations with employers during this period. The problem of declining employment opportunities was the paramount issue in the union from 1926 to 1941, when the war boom once more taxed the railroads to capacity.

Proceedings of the Firemen's conventions have been published since 1874, but have been distributed only to members of the union and were therefore unavailable for inclusion in this study.

FREIGHT AND BAGGAGEMEN, BROTHERHOOD OF RAILROAD

I. CHRONOLOGY

1902 Organized.

1909? Disbanded.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.

1908 (*with journal*)

2. Journal.

Published as: (Lancaster, Pa.)

1903-Apr 1908: *The Railroad Freight and Baggage*

May 1908-Oct 1908?: *The Railroad Freight Baggage*
and Clerk Advocate

(Published jointly with Interior Freight Handlers' and
Railway Clerks' International Union (q. v.).)

FREIGHT HANDLERS, BROTHERHOOD OF RAILROAD

I. CHRONOLOGY

1901 Organized as Interior Freight Handlers and Warehousemen of America.

1903 Affiliated with AFL as Interior Freight Handlers' and Warehousemen's International Union.

- 1907 Changed name to Interior Freight Handlers' and Railway Clerks' International Union.
- 1909 Changed name to Brotherhood of Railroad Freight Handlers.
- 1915 Merged with Brotherhood of Railway Clerks (*q. v.*).

II. PUBLICATIONS

- 1. Proceedings.
3rd, 1907; 4th, 1909; 5th, 1910
- 2. Constitutions.
1909; 1910
- 3. Journal.
Published as: (Lancaster, Pa.; Chicago)
May 1908-Oct 1908?: *The Railroad Freight Baggage-men and Clerk Advocate*
(Published jointly with Brotherhood of Railroad Freight and Baggage-men (*q. v.*).)
Nov 1908-Mar 1914: *Freight Handlers' and Railway Clerks' Journal* (Ceased publication)

MAINTENANCE OF WAY EMPLOYES, BROTHERHOOD OF

Address: 61 Putnam Ave., Detroit

I. CHRONOLOGY

- ✓ 1886 Organized as Brotherhood of Railway Section Foremen of North America.
- ✓ 1891 Merged with Order of Railway Trackmen to form International Brotherhood of Railway Track Foremen of America, a social and benevolent fraternity.
- ✓ 1896 Merged with Independent Brotherhood of Trackmen to form Brotherhood of Railway Trackmen of America, with functions of labor union.
- ✓ 1899 Absorbed United Brotherhood of Railroad Trackmen, a Canadian organization organized in 1893.
- 1900 Affiliated with AFL.
- ✓ 1902 Changed name to International Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees.
- ✓ 1909 Merged with National Railway Trackmen, organized in 1903.
- ✓ 1914 Seceding faction organized Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employes of Greensboro, N. C.

- ✓ 1918 Greensboro group merged with parent body under name of United Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees and Railroad Shop Laborers.
- 1919 Suspended by AFL.
- 1921 Seceding faction organized Order of Skilled Maintenance of Way Employees. Another seceding faction organized Pennsylvania System Fraternity.
- 1922 Reinstated by AFL.
- 1925 Adopted present name.
- 1926 Absorbed Order of Skilled Maintenance of Way Employees.
- 1937 Absorbed Pennsylvania System Fraternity.

II. PUBLICATIONS

(Code Number: M1)

1. Proceedings.
[1892; 1894]; 1st-10th bien., 1896-1914; 11th, 1917; spec., 1918; 12th-19th trien., 1919-1940 (1st-11th, 15th, 18th *with journal*)
2. Reports.
Officers: 1914
3. Constitutions.
1889; 1890; 1893; bien. 1897-1909; bien. 1910-1914; 1917; trien. 1919-1940
4. Journal.
Published as: (St. Louis; Detroit)
1892-1896: *Foremen's Advance Advocate*
1897-1902: *Trackmen's Advance Advocate*
1903-1918: *Advance Advocate*
1919: *Advance Guide*
1920-Sep 1931: *Railway Maintenance of Way Employees Journal*
Oct 1931-1941+: . . . *Journal*
Editors:
1892-Apr 1893: M. O'Dowd
May 1893-1896: W. W. Allen
1897-1902: John T. Wilson
1903-Jan 1910: J. E. Mulkey
Feb 1910-1912: Samuel J. Pegg
1913-Oct 1914: Alexander Gibb
Nov 1914-Nov 1919: Finnur Finnson
Dec 1919-Oct 1922: Charles P. Howard
Nov 1922-Oct 1925: Finnur Finnson
Nov 1925-Sep 1940: F. H. Fljozdal
Oct 1940-Mar 1941: Elmer E. Milliman
Apr 1941+: Thomas E. Milliman

III. CRITIQUE OF PUBLICATIONS

The *Foremen's Advance Advocate* was first published in January 1892 when the amalgamation of the Brotherhood of Railway Section Foremen of North America with the Order of Railway Trackmen of the United States became effective. In the early years of the journal, editorials were few and brief. They covered a wide range of labor topics—trade unionism, court decisions affecting labor, arbitration, immigration, wage settlements, and benefit plans—and they were augmented by miscellaneous reprinted material on the same subjects. A regular section of reprints was started in 1898, drawn largely from other railroad journals and official government publications. Articles of special interest to women were occasionally included.

Correspondence was an important feature from the outset. It embraced a multitude of details concerning the day to day life of members in addition to reports on local meetings and comments upon material previously published. As the editors pointed out more than once, caution was exercised in the selection of letters because subordinate officials of the railroads frequently scrutinized the journal to discover which men were violent in opinion. Retaliation would then follow swiftly. In general, care was taken to prevent use of the journal for presentation of grievances against individual company officials.

Editorial policy and union policy were parallel throughout. President John T. Wilson's unionism was careful. The union's first strike did not come until 1901. Emphasis was upon temperance, efficiency, devotion to employer, benefit plans, and avoidance of strikes. Always there was the hope that by being sober, working diligently, respecting company officials, and dressing carefully after work, the union members could induce employers voluntarily to improve working conditions and make possible a higher standard of living. This reluctance to strike survived beyond the successful strikes of the first few years of the new century.

With the death of Wilson, Lowe became president of the union. Lowe, who had been instrumental in securing the affiliation of Canadian locals, was a thorough advocate of mediation and arbitration. His enthusiasm for the Canadian Industrial Disputes Investigation Act continued even after the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada declared its dissatisfaction with the Act. Lowe's resignation came in the middle of 1914 on the pretext of poor health, although in the last of his long series of letters in the fall of the same year he had mentioned that his health was very good. In the last few years of his administration occurred the only con-

spicuous divergence between editorial policy and the president's attitude, a difference which, while not expressed editorially, could be sensed in the selection of reprinted material. A few months after Barker replaced Lowe, the *Advance Advocate* concluded a lead editorial in this fashion: "The Canadian . . . Act is a stumbling block to the workers of Canada . . ."

The years 1900-1901 in many ways marked a new era in the history of the union. A powerful and successful Canadian group had just joined the union, an AFL charter had been secured, and the first successful strikes were in progress. The journal showed a marked intensification of membership interest. Members clearly felt that a great volume of letters indicated a good publication and that members were therefore duty-bound to write. By 1902 it was not unusual for a single number to carry fifty pages of contributions from members. This material was similar in content to that of the nineties, with chief emphasis on personal events, local meetings, and comments on editorials and articles.

The scope of the communications department was considerably limited by editorial policy. In 1904 the editor wrote: "No letter can be given space in the *Advocate* which makes public any of the private affairs of the order; neither will any be published which tend to produce friction and discord among the members, such as discussion of racial, religious, or partisan topics." In the editor's report of 1909 it was stated that the quality of the journal could be attributed to ". . . its conservatism and freedom from every form of discussion which might give offense to any of its readers or prove detrimental to our common cause or to the interest of our individual members." This policy of excluding controversial material was followed consistently in the journal and was again mentioned in the 1928 convention. Nowhere is this seen as clearly as in the publication's coverage of presidential resignations. Only with the printing of separate convention proceedings after 1919 did it become possible to follow intra-union problems with any degree of certainty. External features of the union's growth, however, were covered in periodic histories appearing in the journal.

The trend upon which the journal embarked in 1900-1901 can best be seen in 1915, which marked both its peak and its close. The 1915 *Advance Advocate* was designed to appeal to every member of the family. Health, education, religion, poetry, geography, family care—all were dealt with regularly. Material was reproduced from such publications as the *Literary Digest*, *Leslie's Weekly*, the syndicated column of Dorothy Dix, the *Sunday School Times*, the *New York World*, the *Springfield Republican*,

and the *Religious Herald*. There was also a technical department, a poetry page, and a complete section of children's letters.

A complete change in the make-up of the journal occurred in 1915. Instead of an all-purpose publication of more than a hundred pages, the journal became a sixteen-page newspaper devoted rather strictly to labor material. The new journal consisted usually of a lead article often reprinted from another railroad publication, news notes of the union, editorials, a French section in which most of the editorials and some of the news were translated, several columns of AFL news and articles, and a correspondence section. After four years there was a return to the smaller page and greater number of pages. But there was no return to the all-purpose policy; the journal remained strictly a labor monthly.

The World War saw an unprecedented growth in membership and a complete reorientation of the union's program. Until this time the union's chief problems had been dual unionism, organization, and recognition. After the government took over the operation of the railroads, the union's efforts were bent toward promoting safety measures and other types of railroad labor legislation, extending its scope as representative of the trackmen before government tribunals, and preparing briefs for administrative hearings and court cases. Benefit plans and jurisdictional disputes continued to require consideration throughout.

At the 1919 convention the union's membership was estimated at 300,000. The number of vice-presidents was increased from two to fourteen. A mail order house was established. Land was purchased for a twelve-story office building in Detroit. The union's strength was mobilized behind the Plumb Plan. Participating in the formation of the Plumb Plan League, the Brotherhood naturally entered the Railway Labor Executives Association. After the return of the railroads to private management, the Brotherhood continued to seek improved working conditions through legislation. With the growth of the Railway Labor Executives Association the Brotherhood's legislative program was made parallel to that of the Association.

Between 1919 and 1922, Editor Charles Howard succeeded in obtaining from Brotherhood members a steady stream of full-length articles on labor subjects. During this period there was little reliance on reprinted material. As energies were increasingly turned to legislation, however, reprinted articles once again became important. They were drawn largely from *Labor*, an-

nouncements of the Railway Labor Executives Association, and AFL sources.

The level of membership attained during the World War could not be maintained during the post-war decline in employment. In 1922 the number of vice-presidents was reduced from fourteen to five. Officers' salaries were cut forty per cent. The membership of 300,000 in 1919 dwindled to 84,592 in 1922 and 70,150 in 1925. Improved methods of maintenance, competition from motor transport, and railroad consolidation continuously reduced maintenance of way employment. In addition to diminishing employment during the twenties, company unions became an extremely serious problem after the Railroad Labor Board's decision in the shopmen's strike.

From the twenties onward, letters to the editor consisted mainly of local lodge reports plus a limited amount of general discussion. In addition to reprinted material of the types mentioned above, decisions of government agencies were reprinted at length and often with comments. In 1941 the journal expanded somewhat in scope with consumer notes from Consumers' Union and from the Department of Agriculture. There was also evident a wider interest in foreign affairs and in the problem of economic mobilization for war. The Baruch program of price-and-wage freezing was strongly attacked.

Until the first separately printed convention proceedings appeared in 1919, only scant information concerning officers' reports appeared in the journal. Officers' reports were usually given to delegates and sent by registered mail to the secretaries of local lodges. This secrecy was thought necessary because it was felt that the release of vital financial data would handicap the union in its negotiations. After 1919 the full text of officers' reports was included in the proceedings.

The president's report dealt topically with problems and issues currently confronting the Brotherhood—wage scales, collective agreements, the eight-hour day, system federations, organizing campaigns, dual unions, jurisdictional disputes, benefit plans, politics, and legislation. The secretary-treasurer gave a detailed analysis of the union's assets and liabilities, as well as statistics of membership, while the superintendent of the provident department reported on benefit claims paid or rejected. Beginning in 1928, vice-presidents' reports, consisting of accounts of their organizing activities and dealings with local unions, were included in the proceedings.

Verbatim proceedings were published from 1919 through 1931. These contained speeches of officers and guests, and full discussion of constitutional amendments and resolutions. From 1934 on, resolutions and amendments were listed with a tabulation of the votes on them, but full discussion was not printed.

PORTERS, BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR

Address: 217 W. 125th St., New York

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1925 Organized.
1936 Affiliated with AFL.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
15th, 1940
2. Constitutions.
bien. 1936-1940
3. Journal.
Published as: (New York)
1925-Jun 1928: *The Messenger* (Ceased publication)
Nov 15, 1929-1941+: *Black Worker*
(*The Messenger*, founded in 1917, was the official organ of the Brotherhood from 1925 to Jun 1928 when it ceased publication. *Black Worker* was suspended Oct 1930-Apr 1935. NS, 1935.)

RAILROAD LABOR ORGANIZATIONS, ASSOCIATED

Address: 10 Independence Ave., S. W., Washington

I. PUBLICATIONS

1. Journal.
Published as: (Washington)
Jul-Sep 18, 1919: *Railroad Democracy*
Sep 27, 1919-1941+: *Labor*

RAILWAY AGENTS' ASSOCIATION, AMERICAN

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1920 Organized by seceding faction of Order of Railroad Station Agents (*q. v.*).
 1931? Disbanded.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Journal.
 Published as: (Indianapolis)
 1924?-1931?: *The Railway Agent*

RAILWAY EMPLOYEES, THE SUPREME COUNCIL OF THE FEDERATED ORDERS OF

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1889 Organized as The Supreme Council of United Orders of Railway Employes, composed of Brotherhood of Railroad Brakemen (*q. v.*); Brotherhood of Railway Conductors (*q. v.*); Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen (*q. v.*); and Switchmen's Mutual Aid Association of North America (*q. v.*).
 1891 Expelled Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen (*q. v.*), formerly Brotherhood of Railroad Brakemen.
 1891? Changed name to The Supreme Council of the Federated Orders of Railway Employes.
 1892 Dissolved.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
 1st, 1889; 2nd, 1890; spec., Apr, May and Aug 1890 (*with proceedings of 7th conv. of Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen (q. v.)*).
 2. Journal.
 Published as: (Indianapolis)
 Jan-Dec? 1891: *The National Federationist*

RAILWAY EMPLOYEES, UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1901 Organized.
 1903 Affiliated with American Labor Union (*q. v.*).

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
 [1st, 1902; 2nd, 1904]
2. Constitutions.
 1902; 1904
3. Journal.
 Published as: (Chicago)
 1901?-Oct 1904?: *Railway Employees' Journal*
 (Jan 1905 absorbed by *Voice of Labor*, organ of American
 Labor Union (*q. v.*).)

RAILWAY AND STEAMSHIP CLERKS, FREIGHT HANDLERS, EXPRESS AND STATION EMPLOYES, BROTHERHOOD OF

Address: Brotherhood of Railway Clerks Bldg., Court and Vine Sts.,
 Cincinnati

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1899 Organized as Order of Railway Clerks of America.
 1900 Affiliated with AFL.
 1901 Withdrew from AFL.
 1904 Absorbed National Railway Clerks' Association of North
 America and changed name to National Order of Railway
 Clerks of America, and later in same year to Brotherhood of
 Railway Clerks.
 1908 Reaffiliated with AFL.
 1919 Seceding faction organized Order of Railway Expressmen
 (*q. v.*). Adopted present name.
 1925 Seceding faction organized American Federation of Express
 Workers (*q. v.*).
 1926 Suspended by AFL.
 1928 Reinstated in AFL. Absorbed Order of Railroad Expressmen
 and American Federation of Express Workers.

II. PUBLICATIONS (Code Number: R1)

1. Proceedings.
[1st-5th ann., 1901-1906]; 6th-8th bien., 1908-1912; 9th, 1915;
10th, 1919; 11th-14th trien., 1922-1931; 15th, 1935; 16th, 1939
2. Reports.
Officers: 1915-1939 (in conv. years)
3. Constitutions.
ann. 1902-1906; bien. 1908-1912; 1915; 1919; trien. 1922-1931; 1935; 1939
4. Journal.
Published as: (Kansas City, Mo.; Cincinnati)
May 1902-1941+: *The Railway Clerk*
Editors:
May 1902-Mar 1903: J. Hugh Fayman
Apr 1903-Feb 1904: R. E. Fisher
Mar 1904-Aug 1905: J. F. Marshall
Sep 1905-Apr 1910: Wilbur Braggins
May-Sep 1910: J. F. Riley
Oct 1910-Sep 1915: R. E. Fisher
Oct 1915-Jul 1919: W. V. H. Bright
Aug-Sep 1, 1919: William E. Hayes
Sep 15, 1919-1941+: Phil E. Ziegler

III. CRITIQUE OF PUBLICATIONS

The Order of Railway Clerks of America was founded in Sedalia, Missouri, in 1899 as a social club. The early social and fraternal emphasis of the Order probably explains the fact that, after having affiliated with the AFL in 1900, it withdrew in 1901 and remained independent until 1908.

The Railway Clerk, official journal of the union, first appeared as a four-page monthly in May 1902. By 1903 it had expanded to some twenty pages, most of which was correspondence supplemented by editorials. The central concern of both letters and editorials was the question of reaffiliation with the AFL. In spite of numerous arguments advanced by the editor in favor of reaffiliation, the majority of the membership continued to oppose it on the ground that it would lead to sympathetic strikes and increased expenses, or that an alliance with the railroad brotherhoods would be preferable.

The membership of the union declined sharply in 1904, partly as a result of secession of most of the New England members, who set up a dual union and did not rejoin the Brotherhood until 1908. Despite this setback, a national organizer was appointed in 1905,

and in 1906 organizing drives were concentrated on specific railroad systems. Considerable success was achieved in negotiating local contracts, and the first system agreement was signed with the New York, New Haven, and Hartford Railroad in 1909. The texts of these early agreements, printed in the journal, emphasize the Clerks' interest in seniority, definite working hours, and holidays.

During this first phase of the union's history, *The Railway Clerk* varied from twenty to fifty pages in length. Editorials dealt mainly with the need for organization and the duty of members to attend meetings and pay dues promptly. Employer discrimination because of union membership was cited frequently, and the editor attributed this to the weakness of the union. The example of the older railroad brotherhoods was held before the Clerks as a goal toward which to work. A good deal of interest was shown in cooperation with these brotherhoods and the organization of the Railroad Employees' Department of the AFL was noted with satisfaction. The philosophy of the union during the early years was indicated by the frequent repetition of the word "conservative." The editor often pointed out the advantages which would accrue to the employer when clerks were no longer "cheap labor" and when they would be more alert and healthier as a result of shorter hours. In the early years editorials and correspondence supported the railroads in their pleas for higher rates, since it was generally believed that higher wages would automatically result. Later, after these tactics had failed to produce results, the union opposed higher railroad rates and argued that clerks could get tangible advantages only through a strong labor organization.

The correspondence section was large until 1908. During the years 1908-1910 and 1914-1915, the journal contained a great deal of reprinted material and the correspondence section was shorter. The bulk of the letters from members dealt with election of officers, social events, and other local news. The few which discussed union policy generally concurred with the opinions expressed in editorials.

The second stage in the history of the Brotherhood covered the years of the first World War. During the period of government operation of the railroads, the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks was recognized as the bargaining agent for all those over whom it claimed jurisdiction with the exception of steamship clerks. From that time to the present, the interests of the union have been focused on Washington, and it has consistently favored contract negotiations on a national scale. The union, which during the war

period had increased in membership from 12,000 to 150,000, opposed the return of the carriers to private management. The journal carried many editorials, special articles, and letters from members favoring the Plumb Plan. After it had become evident that this plan would not be adopted, the journal continued to print articles and letters favoring other schemes for government ownership, and failing this, more rigid governmental control. During the period of government operation, a great deal of space in the journal was devoted to reprints of general orders, and of decisions of Railroad Adjustment Board Number 3.

The nationwide anti-union activities and open-shop drives of the twenties worked serious damage to the Brotherhood, but their effects can be guessed only by implication. Loss of membership was not specifically mentioned in the journal, nor was much space given to the fact that company unions were established on a large number of important carriers. During the thirties, however, the journal described victory after victory over company unions, and from this recital the seriousness of their threat to the organization can be estimated. In 1927 the Brotherhood secured an injunction restraining the Texas and New Orleans Railroad from interfering with the right of employees to select bargaining representatives. This case was carried to the United States Supreme Court and the decision in favor of the Brotherhood established the constitutionality of the Railway Labor Act of 1926.

In addition to company union growth, the Brotherhood was troubled by dual unionism and jurisdictional disputes. Several unions of expressmen had existed before the Brotherhood extended its jurisdiction to this group in 1916, and the last of these was not absorbed until 1928. In Canada, the Brotherhood was engaged from about 1920 in a struggle with the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Employees. A lengthy jurisdictional dispute with the International Brotherhood of Teamsters was recorded also in the journal. The Clerks suffered suspension from the AFL rather than accept an award which upheld the Teamsters' claim to jurisdiction over expressmen in the vehicle service. An agreement was eventually signed with the Teamsters and the Clerks were reinstated in the Federation, but conflict between the two groups broke out again in 1941.

Beginning in 1928 and continuing to date, the journal has contained a great deal of material on the economic difficulties of the railroads. The Clerks advocated as remedies government control of competing forms of transportation, and government investigation and regulation of the financial structure of the roads.

They set themselves in firm opposition, however, to railroad consolidation as recommended under the Transportation Act of 1920 and the Emergency Transportation Act of 1933 because of the adverse effect of consolidation on employment. In cooperation with the other railroad brotherhoods, they succeeded in writing job protection into the Transportation Act of 1933 and later signed a national agreement with the carriers which provided for a dismissal wage, continuation of a workers' previous salary in the event of his transfer to a job carrying a lower salary, and indemnification for losses accruing to the worker's real property in the event of discharge.

A concerted drive for new members and against company unions was inaugurated in 1928, and the union reported a growth in membership during the depression. Assisted after 1933 by the favorable attitude of the Roosevelt administration, the Brotherhood continued to progress, and by 1936 had collective agreements with 236 railroads in the United States and Canada. In this year the Pennsylvania Railroad, last important carrier with which the union did not hold a contract, signed an agreement with the Clerks. The thirties witnessed the first real drive of the union to enroll clerks in steamship and freight forwarding companies, but the inroads in these areas were slow. In 1941 the Brotherhood signed its first contract with a bus company. In 1939 the convention established auxiliary locals for colored members. Prior to this time these workers had been organized in federal unions chartered by the AFL; since 1935 these federal unions had been represented in collective bargaining by the Clerks.

The first of a series of annual conferences on organization was held in 1929. At these meetings local officers heard experts from various fields discuss the economic problems of railroads, labor legislation, and social problems. The conference has in reality become the policy-making body of the union insofar as legislative matters are concerned. The Brotherhood was critical of AFL opposition to unemployment compensation and other forms of social insurance and advocated these measures at the very outset of the depression. As a solution for economic ills the conference advocated higher wages, the establishment of the thirty-hour week, and the inauguration of a large public works program. Although the journal invited discussion of the advisability of a labor party movement and many members wrote articles and letters supporting such a step, the conference went on record in favor of a continuation of non-partisan politics. At the same time it urged greater activity in the primaries. The convention of 1931 cre-

ated a legislative department to develop state legislative committees, but except for a few scattered instances, the journal reveals little local political activity.

In the field of national legislation the Brotherhood, in cooperation with the other standard railroad brotherhoods, has been singularly successful. The fact that President Harrison was chairman of the Railway Labor Executives Association from 1934 to 1940 added considerably to the prestige of the union. In addition to the successful opposition to railroad consolidation, previously mentioned, this Committee sponsored the 1934 amendments to the Railway Labor Act, and the series of acts passed after 1934 to provide retirement pensions and unemployment compensation for railroad workers. The Brotherhood has also exerted legislative pressure in favor of accident compensation for railroad employees.

The collective bargaining technique of the Brotherhood has its base in a broad knowledge of the railroad industry and in the ability of its research department, established in 1922, to present wage data clearly and effectively. The Brotherhood has worked consistently for negotiation with the railroads on a national, rather than a regional or system basis. This objective was not achieved under the Railway Labor Act of 1926 because of employer opposition, but under the Act of 1934 the procedure appears to have become firmly established. The course of negotiations with employers, together with the union's attitude toward the various transportation acts, can be followed in detail in the journal.

The Brotherhood has, on one or two occasions, branched out from the foregoing basic interests. In 1922 it constructed an office building in Cincinnati and founded a bank, but the bank was sold in 1930 after several of its executives were found guilty of misapplication of funds. The Brotherhood has encouraged the formation of credit unions, and from time to time locals report their activities in this sphere. Although the journal proposed at various times to educate its members vocationally or in trade unionism or to make a drive for more healthful working conditions, these projects were of short duration and did not arouse much enthusiasm among the rank and file. The union has had from the beginning a death benefit fund, which after suffering various vicissitudes was apparently put on a sound financial basis in 1931.

The material appearing in *The Railway Clerk* has centered on the issues described above. Emphasis was placed on the national scene. Local news was scarce and was usually news of meetings rather than of union objectives and activities. In very few in-

stances were wage scales given. The letters appearing in the correspondence section dealt mainly with elections of local officers, summaries of speeches at meetings, social affairs, and personal items. When opinions were given, they usually followed the general tone of the editorials. Several long syndicated articles were included in each issue, dealing usually with the legislative scene, the condition of the railroads or, increasingly in the thirties, with foreign governments and labor movements.

The convention discussions, which were printed verbatim beginning in 1919, rarely dealt with these larger issues, but centered rather on the details of union administration. The most significant material appeared in the officers' reports, which were included in the convention proceedings until 1915 and published separately after that date. The president's report summarized the activities of the union, including histories of strikes and negotiations, the terms of agreements secured, organizing campaigns and union growth, and relations with the AFL and with other unions. The secretary-treasurer presented a detailed financial report broken down into the various departments among which union funds were allocated. Some of the reports of vice-presidents provided the only available information on the objectives, methods, and accomplishments of the Brotherhood at the regional and local levels.

RAILWAY UNION, AMERICAN

I. CHRONOLOGY

1893 Organized.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.

1st, 1894

2. Constitutions.

1893; 1894

3. Journal.

Published as:

1894-1897: *Railway Times*

SIGNALMEN OF AMERICA, BROTHERHOOD OF RAILROAD

Address: 4849 North Western Ave., Chicago

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1901 Organized.
- 1908 Merged with Railway Inter-Lockers of North America; Independent Order of Signalmen; and Interlockers, Switch and Signalmen's Union.
- 1914 Affiliated with AFL.
- 1928 Suspended by AFL.

II. PUBLICATIONS

- 1. Proceedings.
3rd-8th ann., 1910-1915; 10th-13th ann., 1917-1920; 14th-16th bien., 1922-1926; 20th-22nd bien., 1934-1938
- 2. Constitutions.
1908; ann. 1917-1920; bien. 1922-1930; 1933; 1934; 1936
- 3. Journal.
Published as: (Mount Morris, Ill.)
1920-1941+: *The Signalman's Journal*

STATION AGENTS, ORDER OF RAILROAD

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1906 Organized.
- 1920 Seceding faction organized American Railway Agents' Association (*q. v.*).
- 1923? Disbanded.

II. PUBLICATIONS

- 1. Constitutions.
1910; 1914; 1920 (1910 *with* journal)
- 2. Journal.
Published as: (Boston)
1910-? : ... *Official Manual*
1912?-Jan 1915?: *The Station Agent*
1918?-1920: *The Station Agents' Magazine*
1921-Jul 1923: *The Station Agent*
(NS, 1921. Ceased publication)

STATION EMPLOYEES, BROTHERHOOD OF RAILROAD

I. CHRONOLOGY

1908 Organized.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
3rd-9th ann., 1911-1917; 10th, 1919; 11th, 1921 (all *with journal*)
2. Constitutions.
trien. 1910-1919
3. Journal.
Published as: (Boston)
1910?-1912: *Annual Review and Official Journal of the . . .*
1913-1923?: *The Station Employee*

SWITCHMEN'S MUTUAL AID ASSOCIATION OF NORTH AMERICA

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1886 Organized.
- 1889 Affiliated with The Supreme Council of United Orders of Railway Employes (*q. v.*).
- 1894 Disbanded. Remnants organized Switchmen's Union of North America (*q. v.*).

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Constitutions.
1892
2. Journal.
Published as: (Chicago)
1886-Jul 1894: *Switchmen's Journal* (Ceased publication)

SWITCHMEN'S UNION OF NORTH AMERICA

Address: 3 Linwood Ave., Buffalo

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1894 Organized by remnant of Switchmen's Mutual Aid Association (*q. v.*).
 1907 Affiliated with AFL.

II. PUBLICATIONS (Code Number: S2)

1. Proceedings.
 [1st, 1894; 2nd, 1895; 3rd, 1897]; 4th, 1898; 5th, 1900; 6th, 1901; 7th-13th bien., 1903-1915; 14th-19th trien., 1918-1933; 20th, 1937; 21st, 1941 (4th *with* journal)
2. Reports.
 Officers: 1907-1941 (in conv. years)
3. Constitutions.
 1894; 1900; bien. 1901-1915; trien. 1918-1933; 1937; 1941
4. Journal.
 Published as: (Buffalo)
 1898-1941+: *Journal of the . . .*
 Editors:
 Nov 1898-Jun 1901: M. J. Ford, Jr.
 Jul 1901-Jun 1903: Thomas Meaney
 Jul 1903-May 1909: F. M. Cassidy
 Jun 1909-Jul 1927: W. H. Thompson
 Aug-Sep 1927: C. B. Lightfoot
 Oct 1927-1941+: W. J. Trost

III. CRITIQUE OF PUBLICATIONS

The Switchmen's Mutual Aid Association, first recorded union of this craft, was founded in 1886 and passed out of existence in July 1894 after a series of reverses—the Northwestern strike of 1891, the formation of the American Railway Union on an industrial basis, and the disappearance of the secretary-treasurer with the funds of the organization. Although the Switchmen's Union of North America was founded three months after its predecessor had disbanded, only a skeleton membership remained, and the new union remained unstable in membership and finances for several years. The convention of 1898 decided to create a journal and instructed each lodge to contribute twenty cents per mem-

ber for its support, but the journal actually remained the private property of its first editor, M. J. Ford, until 1901.

The first issues of the journal consisted mainly of editorials and letters from members. The editorials praised the work of the new organization, discussed the failure of the Switchmen's Mutual Aid Association and debated the methods by which the new union might avoid the mistakes of the old. The letters were numerous, and for the first seven or eight years the correspondence section comprised more than half of each issue. Each issue also contained a few articles on general problems of the labor movement. Very little apart from strictly trade union material appeared in the journal.

With the accession of F. M. Cassidy, a Socialist, to the editorship in 1903, the journal took on a more political character. Under Cassidy's editorship, the correspondence section exhibited wide differences of opinion on such matters as craft *versus* industrial unionism and various aspects of socialism. The autonomous craft union policy of the Switchmen was sharply criticized by some members, who favored the industrial type of unionism and supported Debs' attempts to form an industrial union of railroad workers. The industrial unionists were also supported by Cassidy in the editorial columns.

Cassidy was removed from the editorship in 1909 because of his failure to support the policies of the union. The new editor announced that the journal would be run on a strictly "trade union" basis, without ties to any political party. Editorials were continued and indeed increased in volume, but were now concerned primarily with the organizing problems and achievements of the union. The correspondence section declined somewhat in size. Reprinted material, which had begun to appear as early as 1902, took over a larger portion of the journal. In addition to reprinted articles, a miscellaneous section of reprinted news items was included in each issue. The general style of the journal remained substantially unchanged from 1909 to 1925. In the early twenties, much space was given to testimony before and decisions of the Railroad Labor Board. Decisions were printed in full, accompanied by editorial summaries.

In 1925 the journal was enlarged and its content considerably changed. The correspondence section was further reduced. A president's page, devoted to news of union activities and problems, virtually supplanted the editorial section, though a few general editorials continued to appear. The journal was dominated increasingly by reprinted material, drawn mainly from the *Federationist*, from releases by the AFL news service, and from articles

appearing in *Labor*, the publication of the standard railroad organizations. By 1929 most of each issue consisted of articles written by the editorial staff of *Labor*, with chief emphasis on general news.

Throughout the journal's history much space was devoted to relation between the Switchmen's Union and the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen. The Trainmen's policy of actively soliciting the membership of the Switchmen was considered a grave threat to the security of the Switchmen's Union. In addition, since the Northwestern strike in which the Trainmen continued to work, the Switchmen had accused the Trainmen of strike-breaking. The Switchmen, a strictly craft organization, disapproved of the semi-industrial Trainmen's union, which included switchmen, brakemen, and conductors. Almost every issue of the journal contained some reference to this problem.

The reports of convention proceedings were summaries rather than verbatim records and indicated only the final action taken on each subject. The reports of officers and committees to the convention, however, gave full descriptions of the progress of the organization, the most important strikes, wage demands and achievements, the handling of grievances, and the principal Railroad Labor Board decisions. The report of each officer also contained a day by day summary of his work since the last convention. The secretary-treasurer's report contained a detailed financial statement with itemized receipts and expenditures, lists of death and disability benefit claims paid, and receipts from each local for special assessments.

TELEGRAPHERS, ORDER OF RAILROAD

Address: 3673 W. Pine Blvd., St. Louis

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1886 Organized as Order of Railway Telegraphers.
- 1891 Merged with Brotherhood of Telegraphers under present name.
- 1899 Affiliated with AFL.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.

5th, 1890; 8th, 1893; 9th, 1894; 11th, 1897; 12th, 1899; spec., 1900; 14th-20th bien., 1903-1915; 22nd, 1919; 23rd-29th trien., 1921-1939 (all with journal)

2. Constitutions.
1888; 1897; ann. 1899-1901; bien. 1903-1921; trien. 1924-1936
3. Journal.
Published as: (La Porte, Ia.; Vinton, Ia.; St. Louis)
Aug 1885-1891?: *The Railway Telegrapher*
1891?-1941+: *The Railroad Telegrapher*

TELEGRAPHERS, DISPATCHERS, AGENTS AND SIGNALMEN, ORDER OF RAILROAD

I. CHRONOLOGY

1907 Organized.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Journal.
Published as: (Philadelphia)
1907-1920: *The Railroad Wire and Signal*
(Ceased publication. V. 12 omitted in numbering)

TRAIN DISPATCHERS' ASSOCIATION, AMERICAN

Address: 10 Huron St., E., Chicago

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1917 Organized as Western Dispatchers' Association.
1918 Adopted present name.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
2nd-4th ann., 1919-1921; 5th-8th bien., 1923-1929; 9th-12th trien., 1932-1941 (all *with journal*)
2. Constitutions.
1920; 1921; 1929; 1932; 1935
3. Journal.
Published as: (Chicago)
1919-1941+: *The Train Dispatcher*

TRAINMEN, BROTHERHOOD OF RAILROAD

Address: 820 Superior Ave., W., Cleveland

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1883 Organized as Brotherhood of Railroad Brakemen of the Western Hemisphere.
- 1886 Changed name to Brotherhood of Railroad Brakemen.
- 1889 Affiliated with The Supreme Council of United Orders of Railway Employees (*q. v.*).
- 1890 Changed name to Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen.
- 1891 Expelled from The Supreme Council of United Orders of Railway Employees.

II. PUBLICATIONS (Code Number: T2)

- 1. Proceedings.
1st-7th ann., 1884-1890; spec. 1891; 8th-18th bien., 1893-1913;
19th-24th trien., 1916-1931; 25th, 1935; 26th, 1939
- 2. Reports.
Officers: 1913-1930 (in conv. years)
President and Editor-Manager: ann. 1931-1936
Secretary-Treasurer: ann. 1931-1936
Board of Appeals: ann. 1931-1934
Board of Insurance: ann. 1931-1933
Board of Trustees: ann. 1931-1935
- 3. Constitutions.
ann. 1884-1891; bien. 1893-1913; trien. 1916-1931; 1935; 1939
- 4. Journal.
Published as: (Burlington, Ill.; Rock Island, Ill.; Galesburg, Ill.; Cleveland)
Oct-Nov 1884: *Railroad Reporter*
Nov 1884-Aug 1886: *Western Railroader*
Aug 1886-1899: *Railroad Brakemen's Journal*
1890-1907: *Railroad Trainmen's Journal*
1908-1941+: *The Railroad Trainman*
(*Railroad Reporter* and *Western Railroader* were privately published journals endorsed by the union as its official organs.)
Editors:
Aug 1886-Nov 1889: Edward F. O'Shea
Dec 1889-Nov 1891: L. W. Rogers
Dec 1891-Mar 1928: D. L. Cease
Apr 1928-1930: W. N. Doak

1931-Apr 1933: J. A. Farquharson
May-Oct 1933: W. N. Doak
Feb 1934-Aug 1939: J. A. Farquharson
Sep 1939-1941+: S. R. Harvey

III. CRITIQUE OF PUBLICATIONS

The *Railroad Brakemen's Journal* was established as the official organ of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen in 1886. Prior to this date two privately printed magazines, the *Railroad Reporter* of Burlington, Iowa, and the *Western Railroader* of Rock Island, Illinois, had been used as official journals by the Brotherhood.

For several years the new journal consisted mainly of articles reprinted from other sources, fiction, official union notices, and letters from the locals. The letters dealt mainly with local news and problems pertaining to working conditions, such as safety measures and Sunday work. There were also a few editorials dealing with matters of direct concern to the union, such as prevention of accidents, benefit plans, financial difficulties, and relations with other internationals.

The convention of 1889 elected L. W. Rogers editor and manager. Rogers considered the journal an independent voice and felt that he was under no obligation to support the policies of the Brotherhood unless he agreed with them. He was finally removed from the editorship when he refused to defend the action of the Brotherhood in continuing to work on the Northwestern Railroad while the Switchmen were on strike in 1891.

After Rogers' departure the editorship was made an appointive office under the president and D. L. Cease was appointed editor in 1892. The general style of the journal remained unchanged. Reprinted articles continued to occupy about one-fourth of the space. Correspondence increased in volume, and instead of reporting local news the writers concentrated increasingly on general union matters and on discussions of railroad life and problems. The editorials covered virtually the same range of subjects as the letters.

In 1896 the journal was given the form which it retained throughout Cease's editorship. The journal was divided into three main sections. General essays were given a prominent place. For the first few years these essays dealt with such economic and social problems as the single tax, distribution theory, and monopoly. Later they became factual descriptions of cities, foreign countries and their railroads, industries, and unions. The corres-

pondence section was further enlarged until by 1915 it comprised almost half of each issue. The letters were mainly discussions of union issues of the day, reminiscences of old members on the achievements of the union, and descriptions of working conditions. The third subdivision was an editorial section, which covered subjects ranging from Brotherhood news to national affairs. An increased interest in legislative activities can be seen in the trend of the editorials over this period. In 1922, however, the space devoted to editorials was drastically reduced.

In 1931 a president's department was created which virtually replaced the editorial section. The president discussed Brotherhood topics and defended his actions in wage negotiations, support of legislation and political candidates, and relations with other internationals. A brief experiment in publishing the journal as a semi-monthly newspaper was made in 1938, but in December of that year monthly publication was resumed.

One of the most important issues throughout the union's history was its relations with other unions. The Brotherhood included in its membership yardmen and conductors as well as brakemen, and serious jurisdictional disputes often arose between it and the Switchmen's and Conductors' unions. Its journal, convention proceedings, and officers' reports contained frequent criticisms of the two rival unions and proposals for consolidation of the three groups. The earliest and most bitter dispute was with the Switchmen over the Northwestern strike of 1891. As a result of the Trainmen's actions during this strike, the Switchmen combined with the Conductors to expel them from the Supreme Council of the United Order of Railway Employees. During the thirties, disputes arose between President Whitney of the Trainmen and President Harrison of the Railway Clerks over the conduct of the Railway Labor Executives Association, which was entrusted with joint negotiation of wage agreements with the railroads.

The union's benefit system received much space in its publications as early as 1893. An extensive system of death and disability benefits, funeral benefits, tuberculosis funds, and pensions was built up by the union, and the administration of this system was under almost continuous discussion. In 1931 an "Individual Reserve Department" was created with the object of placing insurance on an actuarial basis which would assure safety and strength, and all other insurance departments of the union were absorbed in the new department.

Like other railroad unions, the Trainmen have been much interested in legislation. Legislative committees were established in

the states, in Washington, and in Ottawa as early as 1891 to promote legislation of interest to railroad men. The Trainmen were chiefly concerned with the passage of adequate railroad labor legislation and levelled much criticism at the Transportation Act of 1920 and the Railway Labor Act of 1926, which failed to meet their demands. The legislative committees attempted also to promote the passage of car-limit laws and full-crew laws, each of special interest to trainmen. A full description of the efforts to secure such legislation appeared in the publications. Another major object of the union was to reduce the number of accidents to railroad men. Many campaigns for safety measures, waged in the state legislatures as well as in Washington, were described in the publications.

The main problem confronting the union after 1929 was to find methods of alleviating unemployment. The method most frequently advocated was adoption of the six-hour day, combined with a limitation on the amount of mileage which one man could accumulate in a month. In addition to these division of work plans, strict government regulation of motor carriers was advocated to combat the encroachments made by buses and motor trucks on passenger and freight hauls. Railroad consolidations were also bitterly opposed by the Trainmen on the ground that they added to general unemployment.

While the issues discussed by the union's conventions were the same as those discussed in the journal, the convention proceedings frequently provide additional information, particularly on intra-union disputes. Except during Rogers' editorship, the journal represented the views of incumbent union officers. In the convention proceedings, however, both sides of all factional conflicts were represented. Thus, there were numerous convention disputes between the Whitney faction and the Lee faction, self-styled "liberals" and "conservatives", which finally ended when Whitney won the presidency in 1928.

The officers' reports also contained much information not found elsewhere. The presidents' reports included a history and discussion of every strike, lengthy details of every general wage change, summaries of most grievance adjustments handled by international representatives, texts of arbitration awards and their history, and a very full report of the work of the legislative committees. The report of the secretary-treasurer contained a detailed account of each union fund, a list of amounts paid in benefit claims, and membership statistics. The trustees' reports were summaries of the secretary-treasurer's report plus such information as strike benefits paid and shortages in funds.

TRAINMEN AND LOCOMOTIVE FIREMEN, ASSOCIATION OF COLORED RAILWAY

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1912 Organized.
- 1918 Reorganized as Association of Colored Railway Trainmen.
- 1936 Changed name to Association of Colored Railway Trainmen and Locomotive Firemen.

II. PUBLICATIONS

- 1. Proceedings.
 - 2nd, 1919; 6th, 1923; 7th, 1924; 9th, 1926; 12th, 1929; 13th, 1930
- 2. Constitutions.
 - 1926

TRANSPORT SERVICE EMPLOYEES OF AMERICA, UNITED

Address: 3451 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1937 Organized as International Brotherhood of Red Caps.
- 1940 Adopted present name.

II. PUBLICATIONS

- 1. Proceedings.
 - 1st, 1938; 2nd, 1940
- 2. Constitutions.
 - 1938; 1940
- 3. Journal.
 - Published as: (Chicago)
 - 1937-1941+: *Bags and Baggage*

YARDMASTERS OF AMERICA, RAILROAD

Address: 312 First National Bank Bldg., 33 N. High St.,
Columbus, Ohio

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1918 Organized.
- 1925 Seceding faction organized Railroad Yardmasters of North America, Inc. (*q. v.*).

II. PUBLICATIONS

- 1. Proceedings.
1921; 1924; 5th-17th ann., 1927-1939
- 2. Constitutions.
1921; 1924; 1928; 1930; 1933
- 3. Journal.
Published as: (Columbus, Ohio)
1919-1941+ : *Railroad Yardmaster*

YARDMASTERS OF NORTH AMERICA, INC., RAILROAD

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1925 Organized by seceding faction of Railroad Yardmasters of America (*q. v.*).

II. PUBLICATIONS

- 1. Proceedings.
3rd, 1929; 4th, 1930
- 2. Constitutions.
1925?
- 3. Journal.
Published as: (Buffalo)
1925-Mar 1931?: *The Railroad Yardmasters Magazine*

CHAPTER 4

Transportation: Water, Road and Air

AIR LINE MECHANICS ASSOCIATION, INTERNATIONAL

Address: 155 N. Clark St., Chicago

I. CHRONOLOGY

1936 Organized.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Constitutions.
ann. 1936-1939
2. Journal.
Published as: (Chicago)
1937-1941+: *Air Line Mechanic*

AIR LINE PILOTS ASSOCIATION, INTERNATIONAL

Address: 3145 W. 63rd St., Chicago

I. CHRONOLOGY

1931 Organized. Affiliated with AFL.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Constitutions.
1931; ann. 1934-1936; 1938; 1940
2. Journal.
Published as: (Chicago)
Apr 5, 1932-1941+: *Air Line Pilot*

ENGINEERS' BENEFICIAL ASSOCIATION, NATIONAL MARINE

Address: 815 Mt. Vernon Pl., N. W., Washington

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1875 Organized as National Marine Engineers' Association of the United States of America.
- 1883 Adopted present name.
- 1916 Affiliated with AFL.
- 1923 Withdrew from AFL.
- 1937 Affiliated with CIO.

II. PUBLICATIONS (Code Number: E1)

- 1. Proceedings.
1st-31st ann., 1875-1906; [32nd, 1907]; 33rd-65th ann., 1908-1941
- 2. Constitutions.
1891; 1893; 1899; trien. 1901-1907; 1912; 1918; 1919; 1920; 1923; 1930; 1935; 1937; 1940
- 3. Journal.
Published as: (Chicago; Washington)
1906-1941+: *The American Marine Engineer* (Suspended
Nov 1920-Apr 1921; Jun-Sep 1921; Mar 1933-Oct 1935)

III. CRITIQUE OF PUBLICATIONS

The National Marine Engineers' Association was formed in 1875 at a meeting of representatives from several Great Lakes ports and the port of Baltimore. Its first constitution established a beneficial society, designed for skilled workmen. The conventions of 1875 to 1880, whose discussions were not reported, apparently did little more than revise the constitution and consider the status of the benefit funds.

After 1880, reports of officers and reports from locals appearing in the proceedings indicate the broadening interests of the Association, starting with a campaign to lower the federal license tax imposed annually on marine officers. This tax was reduced in 1884 and eliminated a few years later. In 1885 the Association further increased its prestige by securing legislation prohibiting aliens from holding American licenses as marine engineers. For many years after this the Association's program was principally one of

legislative activity to restrict the issuance of licenses and to "raise the professional level and enhance the prestige of marine engineers." In 1896 it pushed a bill through Congress granting the status of officers to marine engineers and reaffirming the exclusion from the profession of non-citizens.

Use of the Association to improve the wages and working conditions of its members was first proposed in 1883. The convention voted down the proposals by a large majority and, to emphasize its decision, inserted the word "Beneficial" in the union's name. In 1887, however, the constitutional prohibition against the setting of wage standards by locals was removed and the locals began to engage in a form of collective bargaining. The death benefit system had gradually died out by this time. Growing concern with wages and the need for concerted action to forestall wage cuts led to a provision for a full-time, salaried president in 1890. An attempt at regional collective bargaining with all employers in the Great Lakes region culminated in a widespread but unsuccessful strike in 1902. For several years after 1909 the MEBA was engaged, along with other organized maritime groups, in a fight against the open shop drive initiated by the Lake Carriers' Association. The MEBA lost much of its membership in this unsuccessful struggle and turned once more primarily to legislative activities. The conventions of 1910, 1911, and 1912 voted down proposals to affiliate with the AFL and emphasized the professional character of the Association.

From 1910 to 1918 the convention proceedings were filled with correspondence between MEBA officers and governmental agencies over such issues as the fraudulent issuance of engineers' licenses, hours and working conditions aboard ships, and hazards to the safety of the crews—notably the dangerous practice of excessive steam in engine-room boilers. During the World War period much space was devoted to relations with the United States Shipping Board; the recruiting of engineers for the War Shipping Fleet; hearings on wages and working conditions; cases, awards, and appeals taken to the National Adjustment Commission; and efforts to prevent unauthorized strikes during the war.

The major issues in the immediate post-war years were the re-establishment of rules and working conditions which had been sacrificed during the war, the problem of the disposition of the government-owned merchant fleet, and the probable effects of the return of the railroads to private control. Railroad ownership and operation of tugboat lines provided a basis for joint action with the railroad brotherhoods, and in 1921 a permanent alliance

was formed providing for cooperation in cases coming before the Railroad Labor Board.

In 1921 depressed economic conditions in the shipping industry brought great pressure for wage reductions. A protracted strike was fought by the maritime unions in the New York harbor area to retain the eight-hour day achieved during the war, but the strike was lost. Later in the year negotiations of the maritime unions with the United States Shipping Board and the American Steamship Owners' Association over proposed wage reductions broke down. The result was a general maritime strike, which failed completely and almost ruined the unions involved. As a result of the strike the MEBA suffered a great loss in membership, became involved in a heated factional conflict over the conduct and termination of the strike, ceased to be recognized by the private steamship corporations, and retained collective bargaining relations only with the United States Shipping Board.

After some slight recovery in 1922 and 1923, the union underwent a gradual decline in membership and influence which lasted until 1933. This period was, in general, one of wage cuts, unemployment, and growing strength of company unionism in San Francisco and dual unionism in New York. Indicative of the union's weakness is the fact that verbatim convention proceedings, which had been introduced in 1919, were eliminated in 1924 as an economy measure and, except for one year, did not reappear until 1940. The exception was 1930, when an involved factional conflict was reported in full in the proceedings.

The union's membership revived after 1933 and by 1937 it had regained much of the ground previously lost. In 1937, after a three-months dispute, the union secured a collective agreement with sixty-one private companies employing more than half of the marine engineers on the Pacific Coast. In 1937 also, Congress enacted the Three Watch (eight hour) bill which the MEBA had sought for many years. The union also had extensive dealings during these years with the United States Maritime Commission, the United States Steamboat Inspection Service, the Bureau of Navigation, the Bureau of Fisheries, the United States Public Health Service, the Maritime Labor Board, and the National Mediation Board. The correspondence of union officials with these agencies was usually included in the convention proceedings.

Jurisdictional disputes and dual unionism were a major problem for the union throughout most of its history. Outstanding among the jurisdictional disputes were those with the Licensed Tugmen's Protective Association, a branch of the Longshoremen's Union, from 1902 to 1907; with the Steam Operating Engineers,

the Machinists, the Boiler Makers, and the Electrical Workers over repair work in the engine-room of a ship while in port, which reached a peak between 1918 and 1922; and with the Operating Engineers, the Longshoremen, and the National Maritime Union from the thirties to date. The MEBA also fought company unions and dual unions in New York, San Francisco, and New Orleans during the twenties and early thirties.

These rivalries made it difficult for the MEBA to maintain a firm allegiance to any federation of trade unions. It affiliated with the AFL in 1918 but withdrew again in 1922 as a result of the constant controversy with AFL crafts over repair work. The AFL then gave jurisdiction over marine engineers to the Operating Engineers, and when the MEBA once more sought AFL affiliation after 1933, the Operating Engineers refused to relinquish their jurisdiction. Rebuffed by the Federation, the MEBA turned to the CIO and received a charter in 1937. As interpreted by CIO officials, however, this charter gave jurisdiction only over unorganized marine engineers and not over engineers already members of other CIO unions, such as the National Maritime Union. The MEBA therefore found itself in continual conflict with CIO as well as AFL unions, and discussions of withdrawal from the CIO were frequent from 1939 onward.

Information on the union's problems and activities appeared mainly in the officers' reports to union conventions, which over most of the period were very detailed and contained all the significant correspondence between international officers and government agencies. The convention discussions were summarized, except for the year 1919-1924, 1930, 1940, and 1941, which were reported verbatim. The union journal was essentially a technical magazine throughout the period and provided relatively little information on union affairs.

LONGSHOREMEN'S ASSOCIATION, INTERNATIONAL

Address: 265 W. 14th St., New York

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1892 Organized as Lumber Handlers of the Great Lakes.
- 1893 Affiliated with AFL as National Longshoremen's Association of the United States. Changed name to International Longshoremen's Association.
- 1901 Changed name to International Longshoremen, Marine and Transportworkers' Association. Pacific Coast locals seceded.

- 1905 Affiliated with International Transportworkers' Federation.
- 1908 Resumed name of International Longshoremen's Association.
- 1909 Absorbed seceded Pacific Coast locals.
- 1927 Withdrew from International Transportworkers' Federation.
- 1937 Seceding faction of Pacific Coast locals organized International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (q. v.).

II. PUBLICATIONS (Code Number: L1)

1. Proceedings.
[1st, 1892]; 2nd-14th ann. 1893-1905; 15th-23rd ann., 1907-1915; 24th-29th bien., 1917-1927; 30th-32nd quad., 1931-1939
2. Reports.
Executive Council: 1903
3. Constitutions.
1896; 1899; ann. 1900-1905; ann. 1908-1910; ann. 1912-1915; bien. 1917-1921; 1925; 1927; 1931; 1935; 1939
4. Journal.
Published as: (Erie, Pa.; Buffalo; New York)
Nov 1909-Jul 1919: *The Longshoreman* (Ceased publication)
Jul 1926-Jul 1932?: *Longshoremen's Journal*
(Single issue published in 1926; next issue Jul 1928; published semi-annually thereafter. Apparently suspended Jul 1932.)
Editor:
Nov 1909-Jul 1919: T. V. O'Connor

III. CRITIQUE OF PUBLICATIONS

Since *The Longshoreman* was published over a relatively brief span of years, the most important publication of the International Longshoremen's Association has been its convention proceedings. By 1899, the first year for which published proceedings are available, this union was fairly well entrenched on the Great Lakes and had extended a few outposts to the Atlantic, Gulf, and Pacific coasts. Until 1911 the proceedings did not report the verbatim discussions of the delegates, but only the resolutions presented and the action taken on them. Consequently, the reports of the officers were the only source of factual data and opinion during the early period.

These early reports were lengthy and detailed. They included an account of all strikes, the settlements with employers by the international president, the full text of all collective bargaining agreements negotiated from 1899 to 1905, the need for organization in various areas, organizing trips by the president and other

officers, written reports of organizers in the field, lists of locals chartered, comments on conditions facing individual locals and their achievements, as well as the problems facing the international organization as a whole each year.

In these early years, under the presidency of D. J. Keefe (1892-1909), certain policies were evolved which were zealously followed by the successive administrations of the union under T. V. O'Connor (1909-1921), A. J. Chlopek (1921-1927), and J. P. Ryan (1927 to the present). These policies included adherence to the principles of "business unionism," efforts to enhance the prestige of the union among employers by maintaining a strict responsibility in contractual relations, a resulting necessity to subordinate local autonomy to the supervision of the international, and consequently an abhorrence of sympathetic strikes and strikes in violation of collective agreements. A great deal of comment on these policies appeared in the proceedings; and in 1911 and subsequently, more than one view was expressed, for beginning then the published proceedings reported the convention sessions verbatim.

As a result of these policies considerable time was devoted in every convention to questions of the relations of the locals with the international and district officers, and to questions of the disciplining of locals for violation of the international's laws. In 1919 and 1935, in particular, major factional conflicts within the union were revealed in the proceedings. These arose out of the policy and acts of the international officers in connection with strikes, which raised the issue of local or district autonomy to prominence. The 1919 case grew out of a general harbor strike in New York and vicinity, and the 1935 dispute resulted from the 1934 general maritime strike on the Pacific Coast. As a result of the intra-union controversy, these two strikes were more fully discussed than any others in the union's history.

The work jurisdiction of competing locals presented another perennial problem. This problem was particularly difficult in many of the Gulf ports where separate locals existed for white and Negro workers and anti-union employers played on race prejudice. Many proposals for the amalgamation of competing locals were discussed in the proceedings.

Both jurisdictional disputes with other internationals and dual unionism plagued the ILA from its inception. By far the most serious jurisdictional dispute grew out of President Keefe's efforts to make the ILA an industrial union covering the entire marine transport industry. The resulting conflict with the International Seamen's Union extended from 1899 to 1908, and was fully dis-

cussed in the proceedings of this period. The same policy which had led to the dispute with the Seamen, *viz.*, that of trying to consolidate the forces of all organized labor engaged in the marine transport industry, led also to the ILA's affiliation with the International Transportworkers' Federation in 1905. The proceedings from 1903 on consequently contained a great deal of material on foreign labor movements and the need for international labor cooperation.

Dual unionism appeared periodically as a major issue in the conventions. In the early years dualism was represented by local remnants of the Knights of Labor; from 1910 to 1920, by strong IWW movements in the Northern Atlantic and Pacific Coast districts; during the twenties, by the One Big Union movement in Canada and "company unionism" on the Gulf and Pacific coasts, where unsuccessful strikes and lockouts in the post-war period had nearly eliminated the ILA; and, finally, following the resurgence of unionism on the West Coast in the 1934 maritime strike, by the secessionist movement of the Pacific Coast locals and the formation of a rival CIO union there which also challenged the ILA on the Gulf Coast.

A few other highlights of the union's history which were fully covered in the proceedings must be noted. From 1908 to 1910 the ILA was subjected to an intensive "open shop" campaign on the Great Lakes by the Lake Carriers' Association, from which this district of the union never fully recovered. This weakening of the Lakes district was further intensified over the years by the gradual decline of the lumber industry in this section of the country and by revolutionary technological changes in the handling of ore and grain, which greatly reduced employment opportunities.

During the first World War, the issue of strike control was of paramount importance to the international because of its pledge to support the war effort, and a great deal of attention was given to methods of settling disputes with employers by mediation and voluntary arbitration. This policy resulted finally in the creation of the National Adjustment Commission, along with supplementary local commissions in every port, to deal with all disputes with employers for the duration of the war. The president's report for 1919 contained a complete collection of the cases and awards handled by the commissions during the war.

The principal legislative aim and accomplishment of the ILA was the passage of accident compensation laws. The agitation for the enactment of such laws was pushed vigorously by the ILA early in the nineteen-hundreds. The longshoremen were repeatedly excluded from the protection of state laws because of the nature

of their industry. The union therefore redoubled its agitation for a federal law, and the campaign reached a successful conclusion in 1927 when the federal Longshoremen's and Harbor Workers' Compensation Act was passed. The ILA was also active in pushing much of the labor legislation enacted during the New Deal period, but later became extremely critical of the administration of the National Labor Relations Act. The outstanding item of the 1939 convention was criticism of the National Labor Relations Board's personnel and policies, primarily because of the Board's decision in 1938 granting exclusive bargaining rights for the entire Pacific Coast area to the rival CIO union, despite the existence of four ILA longshore locals on Puget Sound.

Another issue of considerable importance in the 1935 and 1939 conventions was that of "communism" and the activities of alleged communistic elements within the ILA who were leading an opposition movement to the administration of J. P. Ryan. Much of this in 1935 took the form of a protracted verbal duel between President Ryan and Harry Bridges, leader of the Pacific Coast district, who subsequently carried most of the Pacific Coast locals into a rival CIO longshore union.

The financial reports included in the proceedings increased greatly in completeness and detail from the early statements of total annual revenue and disbursements to a completely itemized and functional breakdown of all financial transactions from 1912 on, including a notarized report of a professional auditor in 1921 and subsequent years.

The Longshoreman, official organ of the ILA, was published regularly as an eight page monthly for the ten-year period 1909-1919. From the first issue it contained a monthly financial report of the international secretary, presenting an itemized account of every receipt and disbursement. This report normally covered two of the eight pages. In general, most of the remaining material was taken from other sources; the feature articles were usually reprints from the *American Federationist* or other labor journals. Exceptions to this were the published letters from member correspondents in various sections of the country, with detailed comments on local conditions and local union activities. Moreover, following the creation from 1908 to 1910 of four districts of the international (Atlantic, Gulf, Great Lakes, and Pacific) as administrative subdivisions, the journal began to publish the annual reports of the district officers and other highlights of the district conventions. These reports provided a comprehensive summary view of the state of the organization and its achievements and of the special problems of the various districts, and thus supple-

mented the convention proceedings of the international. The journal also reprinted the officers' reports and the most important resolutions adopted at the international conventions, a duplication of the material in the proceedings.

From 1909 to 1912 the journal contained numerous articles on foreign maritime unions and published all correspondence of the ILA with the International Transportworkers' Federation. After 1913 this news of foreign affiliates virtually disappeared. The construction of the Panama Canal prompted a series of articles on the probable effects of the opening of the Canal on foreign commerce and shipping, and hence on longshore work. The hostility of the ILA towards immigration, especially Oriental immigration, was accentuated by the fear that the opening of the Canal would bring a new influx of immigrants to American shores.

During the first World War the journal was filled with the cases and decisions of the National Adjustment Commission. Usually the journal merely reprinted the text of the decisions without comment. The journal lent its weight during this period to the agitation for passage of workmen's compensation laws for longshoremen. During the same period, from 1915 to the suspension of the journal in 1919, there appeared an increasing number of factual articles dealing with business conditions in the shipping industry, the growth of American foreign trade, and similar matters.

Throughout the period of publication of *The Longshoreman*, President T. V. O'Connor appeared as the nominal editor. With the exception of an occasional critical letter from some member, the policies reflected in the paper were strictly those advocated by the administration of the union. From February 1912 to March 1917, D. H. Corcoran, a member of the union, was listed as assistant editor of the journal and author of all the editorials. Although occasionally directed at concrete issues, such as workmen's compensation, the editorials were usually very short and dealt with such general topics as union responsibility, the duties and obligations of members, the evils of radicalism, the need for organization, and the advantages of collective bargaining.

LONGSHOREMEN'S AND WAREHOUSEMEN'S UNION, INTERNATIONAL

Address: 150 Golden Gate Ave., San Francisco

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1937 Organized by seceding faction of International Longshoremen's Association (*q. v.*). Affiliated with CIO and Maritime Federation of the Pacific (*q. v.*).

II. PUBLICATIONS (Code Number: L3)

1. Proceedings.
1st-4th ann., 1938-1941
2. Constitutions.
1938; 1940; 1941
3. Journal.

Published as: (San Francisco)

1938-1940?: *Voice of the Federation*

(*Voice of the Federation*, official organ of Maritime Federation of the Pacific (*q. v.*), was also official organ of International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union from 1938 to 1940.)

III. CRITIQUE OF PUBLICATIONS

In 1937 most of the Pacific Coast locals of the International Longshoremen's Association, after a special referendum vote, seceded from the ILA, sought admission to the CIO, and were chartered by it as the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union. The Atlantic and Gulf Coast locals in the main continued their membership in the ILA. The new union at once launched an organizing campaign in these areas with CIO support, but encountered bitter opposition from the ILA and made only slight headway. On the Pacific Coast, however, it consolidated itself rapidly and in 1938 was designated by the National Labor Relations Board as the bargaining representative of all longshoremen in Pacific ports.

Having won recognition, the ILWU next faced the task of negotiating satisfactory contract terms with employers. The collective bargaining objectives of the union were crystallized in a two-year coast-wide agreement signed in 1940. The agreement provided for wage increases, a six-hour day, hiring through union

hiring halls, uniform dispatching and working rules for the whole coast, skilled rates of pay for skilled work, restrictions on the use of labor-saving devices, treatment of indirect handling of cargo as longshore work, and provision for arbitration of any issues arising under the contract.

The other major problem of the union's early years was jurisdictional conflict with other unions. Rivalry with the ILA was intense and disputes arose also with other AFL unions, notably the Teamsters and the Sailors' Union of the Pacific. A jurisdictional dispute occurred in 1941 with another CIO union, the United Retail, Wholesale, and Department Store Employees. The decision of the Jurisdiction Committee of the CIO did not satisfy either party; the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Employees refused to accept it and the issue remained unsettled. On the whole, however, relations with the national CIO office were good and convention discussion of CIO policies was laudatory.

The ILWU published no journal of its own, but for about two years after 1938 used as its official organ the *Voice of the Federation*, published by the Maritime Federation of the Pacific. Convention proceedings were published but were not verbatim except for occasional nominating speeches or questions asked by the delegates after a speech by a visitor. The bulk of the proceedings consisted of officers' reports and reports of local delegates.

The president's report as a rule commented at length on the organizing program and its effectiveness, and on the course of the struggle with the ILA. It also included a section on contracts negotiated and the technique of successful negotiation, and a section on current political issues, such as the Presidential campaign, foreign affairs, labor legislation, and the effects of war on labor standards. The secretary's report dealt in greater detail with the important events of the year—major negotiations, organizing campaigns, the condition of the locals, strikes and lockouts, activities of the ILA, working conditions on the East and Gulf Coasts, National Labor Relations Board decisions affecting the union, the current political situation and its significance for labor, relations with other unions, Maritime Commission activities, and legislation affecting maritime workers or labor in general. It included also membership statistics and a summary of the financial condition of the union.

The reports of vice-presidents and organizers were brief discussions of their activities during the year, and particularly of working conditions and organizing problems in the places visited, organizing campaigns conducted, and negotiations, strikes and

jurisdictional disputes in which they participated. About sixty pages of the proceedings were usually devoted to reports of local delegates, which presented a succinct picture of the activities of each local over the past year and of its current strength and prospects. In addition, miscellaneous reports occasionally appeared, such as legal reports (in 1939 and 1941) which discussed all the litigation and National Labor Relations Board hearings in which the union had participated.

MARITIME FEDERATION OF THE PACIFIC

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1935 Organized by West Coast locals of maritime labor organizations as a federation with member unions retaining autonomy.
 1941 Dissolved.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
 2nd-6th ann., 1936-1940
2. Constitutions.
 1937; 1938; 1940
3. Journal.
 Published as: (San Francisco)
 1937?-Aug 2, 1941: *Voice of the Federation*
 (Merged with *Pilot*, organ of National Maritime Union of America (*q. v.*).

MARITIME UNION OF AMERICAN, NATIONAL

Address: 346 W. 17th St., New York

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1937 Organized as result of "rank and file" revolt in International Seamen's Union of America (*q. v.*), which disbanded the following year. Affiliated with CIO.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
 1st-3rd bien., 1937-1941
2. Constitutions.
 1937; 1939

3. Journal.

Published as: (New York)

1935-May 1937: *ISU Pilot*Jun 1937-1941+: *The Pilot*

(Prior to May 1937 this journal was the organ of the revolting group within the International Seamen's Union of America. When this group organized the National Maritime Union of America in 1937, the journal was continued as the organ of that union. v. 3, nos. 35-52 marked v. 2; v. 3 repeated in numbering. Absorbed *Voice of the Federation*, organ of Maritime Federation of the Pacific (q.v.) Aug 1941.)

MASTERS, MATES AND PILOTS OF AMERICA, NATIONAL ORGANIZATION

Address: International Commerce Bldg., 15 Moore St., New York

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1887 Organized as American Brotherhood of Steamboat Pilots.
- 1891 Changed name to American Association of Masters and Pilots of Steam Vessels.
- 1905 Changed name to American Association of Masters, Mates and Pilots of the United States of America.
- 1916 Affiliated with AFL under present name.

II. PUBLICATIONS

- 1. Proceedings.
[23rd, 1908; 27th, 1914]; 39th, 1929; [1936]; 43rd-44th bien., 1938-1940
- 2. Constitutions.
1893; 1898; 1908; 1909; bien. 1910-1914; 1917; 1926; 1929; 1936; 1940
- 3. Journal.
Published as: (New York)
1908-1941+: *The Master, Mate and Pilot* (Suspended Mar 1916-1937)

SAILORS' UNION OF THE PACIFIC

Address: Lumbermen's Bldg., San Francisco

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1885 Organized as Coast Seamen's Union.
- 1891 Merged with Steamship Sailors' Union to form Sailors' Union of the Pacific.
- 1892 Participated in organization of International Seamen's Union of America (*q. v.*).
- 1935 Affiliated with Maritime Federation of the Pacific (*q. v.*).
- 1936 Expelled by International Seamen's Union of America.
- 1938 Formed nucleus of Seafarers' International Union of North America (*q. v.*).

II. PUBLICATIONS

- 1. Constitutions.
1891; 1892; 1896; 1900; 1902; 1903; 1906; 1907; 1913; 1937
- 2. Journal.
Published as: (San Francisco)
Nov 2, 1887-Apr 3, 1918: *Coast Seamen's Journal*
Apr 10, 1918-Jan 1936: *Seamen's Journal*
1937-1941+: *West Coast Sailors*
(After 1892, the *Seamen's Journal* was also the official organ of International Seamen's Union of America (*q. v.*); a critique of the journal will be found under the name of that union. Although this journal was published until Jun 1937, it ceased to be the official journal of Sailors' Union of the Pacific after Jan 1936.)

SEAFARERS' INTERNATIONAL UNION OF NORTH AMERICA

Address: 110 Market St., San Francisco

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1938 Organized by West Coast remnants of International Seamen's Union of America (*q. v.*), most important of which was Sailors' Union of the Pacific (*q. v.*), which retained autonomy in Seafarers' International Union. Affiliated with AFL.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Journal.

Published as: (New York)
1939-1941+ : *Seafarers' Log*

SEAMEN'S UNION OF AMERICA, INTERNATIONAL

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1892 Organized under name of National Seamen's Union as a federation of four district sailors' unions, Sailors' Union of the Pacific (*q. v.*); Lake Seamen's Union; Gulf Coast Seamen's and Firemen's Union; and Atlantic Coast Seamen's Union.
- 1893 Affiliated with AFL.
- 1895 Changed name to International Seamen's Union of America.
- 1936 Expelled Sailors' Union of the Pacific.
- 1937 Seceding faction organized National Maritime Union of America (*q. v.*).
- 1938 Charter revoked by AFL in order to charter Seafarers' International Union of North America (*q. v.*). Disbanded.

II. PUBLICATIONS

(Code Number: S1)

1. Proceedings.

[1st, 1892]; 2nd, 1893; [3rd, 1895]; 4th-16th ann., 1899-1911; 17th-21st ann., 1913-1917; 22nd-30th ann., 1919-1927; 31st, 1929; 32nd, 1930; 33rd, 1936 (31st-33rd *with* journal)

2. Constitutions.

1899; 1909; 1911; 1916; 1917; 1919; 1924; 1926; 1930; 1936

3. Journal.

Published as: (San Francisco)

1892-Apr 3, 1918: *Coast Seamen's Journal*

Apr 10, 1918-Sep 1921: *Seamen's Journal*

Oct 1921-Jan 1922: *The Seaman*

Feb 1922-Jun 1937: *Seamen's Journal* (Ceased publication)

(The *Coast Seamen's Journal* and the *Seamen's Journal* which were the official organs of the Sailors' Union of the Pacific (*q. v.*) from 1887 to 1937 were also the organs of the International Seamen's Union of America, except for the period Oct 1921-Jan 1922 during which the International Seamen's Union published its own organ, *The Seaman*.)

Editors:

1892-Jan 9, 1895: W. J. B. Mackay

Jan 16, 1895-Mar 14, 1900: W. MacArthur
 Mar 21-Mar 28, 1900: H. O. Beckley
 Apr 4-Jul 4, 1900: M. Jostall
 Jul 25-Sep 26, 1900: J. Vance Thompson
 Oct 3, 1900-Jan 16, 1901: E. Forrest
 Jan 23, 1901-May 28, 1913: W. MacArthur
 Jun 4, 1913-Jan 12, 1921: Paul Scharrenberg
 Jan 19-Sep 1921: J. Vance Thompson
 Oct 1921-Jan 1922: Thomas Hansen
 Feb-Apr 5, 1922: Selim A. Silver
 May 1922-Jun 1937: Paul Scharrenberg

III. CRITIQUE OF PUBLICATIONS

The *Coast Seamen's Journal* was founded in 1887 as the official organ of the Sailors' Union of the Pacific. Primarily through the efforts of this union the National Seamen's Union was formed in 1892 to bring together the seamen's organizations of the Atlantic, Pacific, Gulf, and Great Lakes districts. The *Coast Seamen's Journal* then became the official organ of the new organization and, with the exception of a brief period in 1921-1922, continued as such until the disintegration of the International Seamen's Union in 1938.

Although the journal was the official organ of the international, it was published by the Sailors' Union of the Pacific in San Francisco until 1922, when its publication was taken over by the international. Most of the articles and news items included during those years concerned the activities and interests of the Pacific Coast unions, and the political activities of labor in San Francisco. There were, however, departments devoted to the Atlantic and Great Lakes districts, which dealt with the working conditions and organizing activities of the unions in these districts as well as the agreements obtained.

Most of the material which appeared in the journal was reprinted from other sources, and original material was confined largely to the editorial pages. Columns of brief paragraphs on such subjects as "Home News," "Marine News," "Labor Doings of Today," and "News from Abroad" occupied a considerable amount of space. The journal contained little discussion by members of the issues facing the union, nor did it contain much discussion of intra-union difficulties until the last few years of its publication when the international was torn apart by factional conflict.

One of the main objectives of the journal throughout its history was to publicize the working conditions of the seamen, em-

phasize the cruelties and indignities to which they were subjected, and secure laws to ameliorate these conditions. The campaign for seamen's legislation was led by Andrew Furuseth, president of the Seamen's Union from 1908 to 1938, and the journal contained many articles from his pen. This campaign to elevate the social position of seamen, eliminate the boarding house system and allotments, abolish imprisonment for desertion, improve working conditions, and provide for the safety of seamen formed the most important set of issues in the journal. This agitation resulted in the passage of the Maguire Act in 1895, the White Act in 1898, and the Seamen's Act in 1915. After the passage of the Seaman's Act the journal devoted much space to defending the legislation against attacks by the shipowners.

Considerable space was also devoted in the journal to the jurisdictional disputes, factional struggles, and major strikes in which the union was engaged.

Beginning in 1899, the Seamen's Union was involved in a jurisdictional dispute with the Longshoremen which lasted until 1907 and was adjusted only by Samuel Gompers' intervention. The union's most important strike, judged by volume of discussion in the journal, was called in the Great Lakes district in 1909 and abandoned in 1912. In this strike the union attempted unsuccessfully to force the Lake Carriers' Association to abandon its open shop policy and its "welfare plan." In 1921 the Great Lakes district was again involved in a dispute with the Lake Carriers' Association because of the Association's policy of wage reductions, maintenance of the open shop, and use of the blacklist in the form of a so-called "discharge book."

The union was greatly interested in post-war attempts to rehabilitate the American merchant marine. The discussions of this problem provided information on union attitudes toward employment of Asiatic and other alien labor, ship subsidies, qualifications for seamen, and government ownership and regulation of the merchant marine.

The *Seamen's Journal* also devoted much space to discussion of foreign labor movements, especially among Australian seamen. Through the International Seafarers' Federation, the union maintained a close connection with seamen's organizations in all parts of the world. Accounts of international meetings of seamen's organizations were given much prominence.

Shortly before the disastrous strike of 1921, IWW sympathizers in the Sailors' Union of the Pacific ousted Paul Scharrenberg from the editorship of the journal and elected J. Vance Thompson

to succeed him. The new editor voiced the criticisms of the IWW against the leadership of the union. As a result, in its 1921 conventions the international withdrew from the *Seamen's Journal* the power to speak for the international union. In October 1921, the international established a separate publication, *The Seamen*, which was its official journal until it ceased publication in January 1922. Thompson was expelled from the Sailors' Union of the Pacific in November 1921 and Selim A. Silver was elected to the editorship of the *Seamen's Journal*. In April 1922 the Sailors' Union of the Pacific turned the journal over to the international.

In 1936 factional conflict again flared up in the union and resulted in its disintegration in 1938. The disintegration began when the International Seamen's Union revoked the charter of the Sailors' Union of the Pacific. A seceding faction on the Atlantic Coast then set up a dual organization under the leadership of Joseph Curran which later became the National Maritime Union. In 1938, the AFL revoked the charter of the International Seamen's Union and chartered a new organization, the Seafarers' International Union. The Sailors' Union of the Pacific formed the nucleus of the new international. The course of the factional struggle was reflected in the content of the journal during this period.

The published proceedings of the early ISU conventions were short, because they were summaries rather than verbatim reports and because the conventions themselves were brief. After 1910, however, the reports of the president, the secretary-treasurer, and legislative committee were published and provided considerable information on such matters as the condition of the district unions and legislation affecting seamen. Beginning in 1911 each year's report of proceedings was supplemented by voluminous appendixes, containing documents bearing on the major subjects discussed in the convention.

STREET, ELECTRIC RAILWAY AND MOTOR COACH EMPLOYES OF AMERICA, AMALGAMATED ASSOCIATION OF

Address: 260 Vernor Highway, E., Detroit

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1892 Organized as Amalgamated Association of Street Railway Employees.
- 1893 Affiliated with AFL.
- 1903 Changed name to Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America.
- 1934 Adopted present name.

II. PUBLICATIONS

- 1. Proceedings.
3rd, 1894; 5th-27th bien., 1897-1941; (5th-27th *with journal*)
- 2. Constitutions.
bien. 1895-1929; 1934; bien. 1937-1941
- 3. Journal.
Published as: (Detroit)
1895-1927: *Motorman and Conductor*
1928-1941+: *Motorman, Conductor, and Motor Coach Operator*

TEAMSTERS, CHAUFFEURS, WAREHOUSEMEN AND HELPERS OF AMERICA, INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF

Address: 222 E. Michigan St., Indianapolis

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1898 Organized by group of team drivers' locals.
- 1899 Affiliated with AFL as Team Drivers' International Union.
- 1901 Seceding faction organized Teamsters' National Union (*q. v.*).
- 1903 Merged with Teamsters' National Union to form International Brotherhood of Teamsters.
- 1906 Seceding faction organized United Teamsters of America, which was in existence in Chicago area as late as 1925.

- 1910 Changed name to International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers.
 1940 Adopted present name.

II. PUBLICATIONS (Code Number: T1)

1. Proceedings.
 [1st, 1898; 2nd, 1899]; 3rd, 1900; [4th, 1901]; 5th, 1902; 6th, 1903 (5th, 6th *with* journal). After merger: 1st-6th ann., 1903-1908; 7th, 1908; 8th, 1910; 9th-12th quin., 1915-1930
2. Constitutions.
 ann. 1899-1908; 1910; 1912; quin. 1915-1940
3. Journal.
 Published as: (Detroit; Indianapolis)
 1901-Aug 1903: *Team Drivers' Journal*
 Nov 1903-Oct 1905: *Magazine of the . . .*
 Nov 1905-Oct 1910: *The Teamsters*
 Nov 1910-1941+: *Official Magazine of the . . .*
 (NS, Nov 1903.)
 Editors:
 1901-Aug 1903: N. W. Evans
 Nov 1903-Aug 1904: James J. Dwyer
 Sep 1904-Sep 1907: Cornelius P. Shea
 Oct 1907-1941+: Daniel J. Tobin

III. CRITIQUE OF PUBLICATIONS

The International Brotherhood of Teamsters was formed in 1903 by a merger of the Team Drivers' International Union and the Teamsters' National Union. Each of these groups had previously published its own journal, and the journal of the new union combined the main features of both publications. From the Team Drivers it took over a correspondence section devoted mainly to reports from local unions. These reports summarized the conditions of trade in each locality, pictured the organizing difficulties and achievements of the union, and described most of the important strikes. From the Teamsters' National Union it took over a section devoted to general news items, drawn largely from other publications. Editorials were few and were concerned mainly with organizing problems, methods of handling strikes, and union constitutional problems.

In 1907, Daniel Tobin became president of the union and editor of the journal, and has continued in both capacities to the present day. Over this period there has been no substantial change in the composition of the journal. From 1908 onward, the

main portion of the magazine was given over to editorials. Correspondence progressively decreased in length and prominence until it virtually disappeared. Those letters that did appear were brief reports on strikes, local conditions, new members admitted to locals, and social news; they did not discuss general issues. The remainder of the magazine consisted of general news stories and reprinted articles.

By 1941, editorials occupied between one-half and three-quarters of the space in each issue, and very little material except that written by the editor appeared in the journal. The views on union affairs contained in the journal were therefore almost exclusively those of the editor. The subjects of President Tobin's editorials varied all the way from accounts of local happenings to broad discussions of national and international affairs. Some of the topics most frequently discussed are indicated below.

One of the earliest issues confronting the union was whether team owners should be admitted as members. The original Team Drivers' Union admitted owners if the owner actually drove a team himself. The Teamsters' National Union did not and had, indeed, seceded from the Team Drivers on this issue. After the merger of the two groups and after much discussion in the conventions of 1906 and 1907, the issue was decided by restricting membership to non-owners.

This reconciliation, however, did not solve the union's problems. The Teamsters' union continued to be plagued by frequent secessionist movements. The largest and most serious secession was in 1906 when the United Teamsters of America was formed in Chicago. Many important members of the Brotherhood, including several executive board members, joined the seceding faction. From 1906 to 1911 this union made a strong bid to supplant the Brotherhood but was finally restricted to the Chicago area, where it survived until about 1925. Frequent references in the journal show this dual organization to have been a constant thorn in the side of the Brotherhood. There were eight other secessionist movements between 1907 and 1941, but these were local in character and never proved a serious threat to the security of the Teamsters. In each instance President Tobin's explanation of the reasons for the secession was set forth in the journal.

The Brotherhood was also involved continually in jurisdictional disputes. From the first year of its existence through 1941 there were frequent disputes with the Brewers, Retail Clerks, Operating Engineers, Bridge and Structural Workers, Street and Electric Railway Workers, Railway Clerks, and Railroad Trainmen.

Scarcely a year passed without much space being devoted to this problem in the journal and convention proceedings. The dispute with the Brewers was especially troublesome and long-lived.

The union early became interested in politics. President Tobin supported a candidate in every presidential election from 1908 to 1940, and was especially active in 1916, 1936, and 1940. In the last two years, he campaigned actively for Franklin Roosevelt and headed the AFL committee for Roosevelt for President. The Democratic and Republican parties, presidents, cabinet members, and congressmen were criticized frequently and vigorously in journal editorials.

Because of Tobin's position, first as treasurer and then as vice-president of the AFL, and because the Teamsters' union was one of the AFL's largest affiliates, the formation of the CIO was of major interest to the union. Tobin headed most of the AFL delegations to the peace conferences which attempted to find a basis for reunion of the two groups. His account of the reasons for the failure of each conference was invariably presented in the journal. The journal also reflected the concern of the union administration over communist activities among the union's membership. The climax of the anti-communist feeling expressed in the journal came with the expulsion in 1941 of a Minneapolis local connected with the Socialist Workers party.

The proceedings of the Teamsters' conventions were reported verbatim until 1910, and contained much discussion of resolutions, constitutional amendments, and appeals from locals and members. After 1910, though the texts of resolutions, and summaries of appeal cases were printed, very little of the discussion pertaining to them was published. Officers' reports were included in the proceedings from 1903 on. The president's report dealt with his organizing and administrative activities, and included comment on current problems and controversies in the union. The secretary-treasurer's report contained a detailed account of receipts and expenditures, as well as strike and membership statistics, and comments on the bonding of officers, administrative relations between locals and the international, and publication of the journal. Reports of the auditor described the condition of locals' treasuries, reasons for dues delinquency on the part of locals, and discussed cases of graft or theft on the part of local officers. The report of the executive board consisted of minutes of meetings held during the year.

TEAMSTERS' NATIONAL UNION

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1901 Organized by seceding faction of Team Drivers' International Union (*q. v.*).
 1903 Merged with Team Drivers' International Union to form International Brotherhood of Teamsters (*q. v.*).

II. PUBLICATIONS (Code Number: T1a)

1. Proceedings.
1903
2. Constitutions.
1902
3. Journal.

Published as: (Chicago)

Oct 1902-Sep 1903- ? : *Teamsters' National Journal*

III. CRITIQUE OF PUBLICATIONS

See Critique of Publications of International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America.

TRANSPORT WORKERS' UNION OF AMERICA

Address: 153 W. 64th St., New York

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1934 Organized.
 1936 Merged with International Association of Machinists (*q. v.*).
 1937 Withdrew from International Association of Machinists.
 Affiliated with CIO.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
1st, 1937; 3rd, 1941
2. Constitutions.
1937; 1939
3. Journal.

Published as: (New York)

Dec 1933- ? : *Transport Bulletin*

? 1934-Jun 1937: *Transport Workers Bulletin*

Jul 1937-1940: *Transport Bulletin*

(Volume enumeration irregular; Dec 1933-May 1934 without volume enumeration.)

CHAPTER 5

Building Construction

ASBESTOS WORKERS, INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF HEAT AND FROST INSULATORS AND

Address: 9th and Mt. Vernon Pl., N. W., Washington

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1904 Organized by group of AFL federal locals as National Association of Heat, Frost, General Insulators and Asbestos Workers of America. Affiliated with AFL.
- 1910 Changed name to International Association of Heat, Frost, General Insulators and Asbestos Workers of America. Later in year adopted present name.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
[1st, 1903]; 2nd, Jul 1904; 3rd, Nov 1904; 4th, 1905; [5th, 1907; 6th, 1909; 7th, 1910]; 8th, 1912; 9th, 1914; 10th, 1916; 11th, 1919; 12th, 1922; 13th, 1926; [14th, 1930]; 15th, 1937 (8th-13th, 15th *with* journal)
2. Constitutions.
1904; 1905; 1907; bien. 1910-1914; 1919; 1922; 1930; 1937
3. Journal.
Published as: (St. Louis; Washington)
Mar-Jul 1912: *Monthly Journal*
Sep 1912-Jan 1917: *Official Journal*
Apr 1917-1941+: *Asbestos Worker*

BRICKLAYERS, MASONS, AND PLASTERERS' INTER- NATIONAL UNION OF AMERICA

Address: 815 15th St., N. W., Washington

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1865 Organized as International Union of Bricklayers of North America.

- 1883 Changed name to Bricklayers' and Masons' International Union of America.
- 1903 Absorbed Stonemasons' International Union.
- 1910 Adopted present name.
- 1916 Affiliated with AFL. Absorbed marble setters formerly belonging to International Association of Marble Workers (*q. v.*)

II. PUBLICATIONS

(Code Number: B1)

1. Proceedings.
1st-13th ann., 1866-1878; 15th-40th ann., 1881-1906; 41st-52nd bien., 1908-1930; 53rd-55th bien., 1936-1940 (3rd-5th, MS.)
2. Reports.
President and Secretary: ann. 1887-1906; bien. 1920-1940
3. Constitutions.
1867; 1876; 1882; ann. 1887-1906; bien. 1908-1930; 1936; 1940
4. Journal.
Published as: (Indianapolis; Washington)
Jul 20, 1898-Jan 10, 1910: *The Bricklayer and Mason*
Feb 1910-1941+: *The Bricklayer, Mason and Plasterer*
Editors:
Jul 20-Dec 20, 1898: Thomas O'Dea
Jan 20, 1899-Feb 1906: Edward A. Moffett
Mar 1906-Mar 1925: William Dobson
Apr 1925-Sep 1927: John J. Gleeson
Oct 1927-1941+: Editorial Board

III. CRITIQUE OF PUBLICATIONS

From its first appearance in July 1898 until 1909 the journal of the Bricklayers, Masons, and Plasterers' International Union consisted mainly of editorials, letters from members, and a large section dealing with technical problems of the trade. Its editorials were confined to issues currently before the union, foremost of which was use of the initiative and referendum, but the letters discussed the general labor movement and contemporary social reforms. The correspondence also included short notes—usually from secretaries of local unions—concerning business conditions in their localities, election returns, and a miscellany of news. Articles on labor laws, court decisions, foreign labor movements, and other subjects related to trade unionism; written by persons outside the Bricklayers' Union, completed the *Bricklayer and Mason*.

After 1909 the issues of the *Bricklayer and Mason* had fewer pages. At least half of these were filled with lists of corresponding secretaries; locals installed, suspended, and reinstated; revoked memberships; and runaway apprentices. The letters of the membership lost their prominent place, and editorials, except when such special issues as affiliation with the AFL arose and were discussed, were shorter. Many reports of government conferences, speeches of union and government officials, and articles in foreign languages were reprinted.

This arrangement did not change until 1930. Beginning in that year and continuing to the present time, letters to the editor were discontinued and much of the reprinted material characteristic of the earlier issues disappeared. The new journal consisted mainly of editorialized news. The labor legislation and general economic policies of the New Deal were described and analyzed, and government subsidies to housing were frequently discussed.

Verbatim proceedings of the Bricklayers' conventions were not published until 1918. For earlier years, information on the union's condition and activities must be derived from the annual reports of the international officers. The president's reports reviewed the communications and appeals which came to his office, to the executive board, and to the judicial board for disposition, and discussed such union interests as contracting and subcontracting, the level of wages, apprenticeship and vocational education, the open shop, jurisdiction of locals, fines and penalties imposed on members, working rules, benefit plans, collective bargaining techniques, arbitration, and dues and assessments. These topics also received attention in the journals where they were treated more briefly.

The secretary's report summarized the issues involved in all strikes, since locals were required to submit their grievances to his office before resorting to strike action. The secretary also reported on union membership, union finances, and the administration of benefit plans. His financial statements showed the receipts from each local, and monthly allocations to the defense, strike, reserve, and general funds. Until 1914 this statement was included in the treasurer's report, which was published in the proceedings. The ways and means committee and the committee on finance summarized these figures in briefer reports. Both the president and secretary prefaced their reports with summaries of important problems before the union and suggestions for policy.

The proceedings after 1918 contained discussions of delegates and officers on proposed resolutions, amendments to the constitution, and appeals from locals and members, as well as detailed analyses of officers' reports by the committee on officers' reports. Speeches of officers and guests were also reported in full. Officers' reports, presented annually before 1918, were after that date published biennially with the convention proceedings.

Perhaps the most important problem confronting the Bricklayers' Union has been its numerous jurisdictional disputes with other international unions. A dispute with the Stonemasons culminated in a merger in 1903. The Bricklayers also absorbed the Plasterers in 1910, and the Marble Workers in 1916, in order to settle jurisdictional conflicts. The disputes with these unions were discussed for many years before their final settlement. The Bricklayers also had numerous controversies with other building trades unions—for example, the Tile Workers, and Cement Finishers. During the attempts to settle these disputes the *Bricklayer and Mason* repeatedly appraised the Board for Jurisdictional Awards and, after 1910, the Building Trades department of the AFL.

Another major problem from about 1910 onward was the introduction of new competitive materials, especially concrete. The question of union policy toward substitute materials was frequently discussed both in the union journal and in convention proceedings.

BRIDGE, STRUCTURAL AND ORNAMENTAL IRON WORKERS, INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF

Address: 1615-20 Syndicate Trust Bldg., St. Louis

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1896 Organized as International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers of America.
- 1901 Affiliated with AFL.
- 1903 Dropped "of America" from title.
- 1914 Changed name to International Association of Bridge, Structural, and Ornamental Iron Workers and Pile Drivers.
- 1917 Suspended by AFL. Dropped "and Pile Drivers" from name. Reinstated in AFL.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
6th-19th ann., 1902-1916; 20th, 1918; 21st, 1920; 22nd-26th quad., 1928-1940 (6th, 9th-23th *with journal*)
2. Constitutions.
ann. 1902-1909; 1911; ann. 1913-1916; 1918; 1919?; 1921; 1924; 1925?; quad. 1928-1940
3. Journal.
Published as: (Indianapolis; St. Louis)
1901-1941+ : *The Bridgeman's Magazine*

BUILDING TRADES COUNCIL OF AMERICA, INTERNATIONAL

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1897 Organized as National Building Trades Council of America.
1904 Changed name to International Building Trades Council of America.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
3rd-9th ann., 1900-1906; 10th, 1908 (8th-10th *with journal*)
2. Constitutions.
1897; ann. 1900-1906
3. Journal.
Published as: (St. Louis)
Aug 1896-Aug 1897?: *The Weekly Compendium*
1897?-Apr 1912: *The Labor Compendium*
(Ceased publication. V. 10 omitted in numbering.)

CARPENTERS AND JOINERS OF AMERICA, UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF

Address: Carpenters' Bldg., Indianapolis

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1881 Organized as Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America. Participated in formation of AFL.
1888 Merged with United Order of American Carpenters and Joiners, local body of New York and vicinity, to form United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America.

- 1912 Merged with Amalgamated Wood Workers' International Union of America (*q. v.*).
- 1913 Absorbed International Union of Shipwrights, Joiners, Caulkers, Boat Builders and Ship Cabinet Makers of America (*q. v.*).
- 1914 Assumed jurisdiction over membership of American branch of Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners of Great Britain.
- 1936 Seceding faction organized Federation of Woodworkers (*q. v.*).
- 1941 Absorbed membership of Industrial Employees' Union, a West Coast independent union.

II. PUBLICATIONS (Code Number: C2)

1. Proceedings.
[1st, 1881; 2nd, 1882]; 3rd-9th bien., 1884-1916; 20th-23rd quad., 1920-1928; 1940 (3rd marked 4th)
2. Constitutions.
1882; bien. 1886-1892; 1893?; bien. 1894-1916; quad. 1920-1928; 1936; 1940
3. Journal.
Published as: (Indianapolis)
1881-1941+: *The Carpenter*
(V. 33 repeated; v. 34 omitted in numbering.)
Editors:
Feb 1881-Aug 1901: P. J. Maguire
Oct 1901-1941+: Frank Duffy

III. CRITIQUE OF PUBLICATIONS

The Carpenter was first published in May 1881, a few months before the establishment of the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America. When the scattered groups of organized carpenters consolidated in August 1881 to form a national organization, this journal became the official organ of the union.

The journal has always been published monthly. Over a period of sixty years it has had but two editors, P. J. Maguire and Frank Duffy. There has been little variation either in form or content over these years. Letters from union members have formed one of the most consistent sources of original material in the journal. In the early years these letters were comparatively long and dealt mainly with general problems of economic and political reform. After about 1915, they were shorter and generally confined to discussions of union problems, especially benefit

plans. These letters provide some indication of rank and file opinion; but as Editor Frank Duffy once wrote, "We have the right to reject any letter of objectionable nature or that would not be in accord with the spirit and content of the (union) law."

Much of the material in the journal has been drawn from other union periodicals, particularly AFL publications. There has also been much material of a general nature written by persons not connected with the labor movement or the Carpenters' union. Until about 1920, these articles were mainly criticisms of the existing economic order or general discussions of the objectives of unionism. In addition, the journal has consistently devoted a large part of each issue to the technical problems of carpentry. The journal usually did not have an editorial page *per se*, although the editor occasionally wrote a short editorial when an important question was before the membership. After 1937 the style of the journal was changed somewhat and more editorials were added, usually in the form of commentaries on current affairs.

From the twenties on the journal has been devoted mainly to general labor news rather than to developments in the Carpenters' union. Union activities have been reported only in such sections as "Trade Notes" and "News Notes from Local Unions," which appeared monthly from about 1900 to 1920. The "Trade Notes" column directed its attention to the strikes and collective agreements of local unions. When this column was discontinued in 1923 the information which it had contained was incorporated in the report of the general executive board, which is published several times each year. "News Notes from Local Unions" was made up of short notes on trade conditions in each locality. Notices of boycotts against "unfair" firms were occasionally included.

The two matters discussed most extensively in the journal were jurisdictional disputes and the union's benefit plans. Other issues which received somewhat less attention include apprenticeship and vocational education, anti-trust laws in general and anti-trust cases in which the Carpenters' union was involved, use of the union label, and union participation in politics.

Jurisdictional disputes began to arise very early in the history of the International Brotherhood of Carpenters. The most important of these was with the Amalgamated Woodworkers' International Union. As early as 1902 the journal and convention proceedings reported attempts to settle the dispute by amalgamating the two organizations, but this result was not achieved until 1912. During the same period the Carpenters were involved in a similar controversy with the Amalgamated Society of

Carpenters and Joiners, an American branch of the English society. After lengthy discussion in their journal and in union conventions, this dispute also was settled by a merger in 1914.

The Carpenters' union carried on numerous other disputes of lesser duration. Their antagonists included other building trades unions such as the Bricklayers, Masons, and Plasterers; Bridge and Structural Iron Workers; Painters, Decorators, and Paper Hangers; and unions outside the building trades, such as the Machinists. Most of these disputes were settled by agreements defining the jurisdiction of the respective unions, the texts of which were usually printed in the Carpenters' convention proceedings.

The constant preoccupation of the Carpenters with jurisdictional disputes stimulated much interest in methods of preventing or settling such controversies. The union was vitally interested in the formation and activities of such organizations as the Structural Building Trades Alliance, the Building Trades Department of the AFL, and the National Board for Jurisdictional Awards.

The second major interest of the union, benefit plans and their financing, must be followed almost entirely in the correspondence from members. At one time a heated controversy arose over the desirability of establishing a home for aged members. The final decision was to retain the old age pension for members who did not wish to leave their families and to establish a home for the others.

For a detailed account of union activities, one must turn from *The Carpenter* to the reports of international officers to conventions. Each of these reports constituted a full history of union affairs since the last convention. The most voluminous report was usually given by the general secretary-treasurer. He provided detailed statistical information concerning fluctuations in membership, the number of subdivisions of the union, strikes and lock-outs (though after 1914 this information was included in the report of the general executive board), benefit plans, and organizing activities. His financial reports broke down total receipts by locals, and expenditures for each month of the year were itemized. Beginning in 1904, the general treasurer made an even more detailed financial report to the convention. Among other things, he reported on donations for strikes, expenditures in law suits, benefits paid, bonding of officers, and shortages in local unions. These reports and the financial tabulations accompanying them constituted the major part of the published proceedings. The records of the conventions were, until recent years, abbreviated summaries of discussions rather than verbatim accounts.

CONSTRUCTION WORKERS, UNITED

Address: 15th and I Sts., N. W., Washington

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1939 Organized by CIO as United Construction Workers Organizing Committee.
1942 Withdrew from CIO and affiliated with United Mine Workers of America (*q. v.*). Adopted present name.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Constitutions.
1939 ..

2. Journal.

Published as: (Silver Spring, Md.)

1940-1941+: *United Construction Workers News*

ELECTRICAL WORKERS OF AMERICA, INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF

Address: 1200 15th St. N. W., Washington

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1891 Organized by several AFL federal locals under name of National Brotherhood of Electrical Workers of America. Affiliated with AFL.
1899 Adopted present name.
1908 Large group of locals set up their own faction of the Brotherhood with separate officers, headquarters and finances, but same name (*q. v.* as International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers of America, seceded faction).
1914 Absorbed seceded faction.
1936 Seceding faction organized United Electrical and Radio Workers of America (*q. v.*).

II. PUBLICATIONS
(Code Number: E2)

1. Proceedings.

[1st-3rd ann., 1891-1893; 4th, 1895; 5th, 1897]; 6th-9th bien., 1899-1905; 10th, 1909; 11th-20th bien., 1911-1929; 21st, 1941 (6th, 12th *with* journal)

2. Reports.

President: 1909; 1911 (1911 *with journal*)

Secretary: 1909; 1911

Officers: 1913-1941 (in conv. years)

3. Constitutions.

1891; bien. 1895-1905; ann. 1909-1911; 1913; 1916; 1918;
bien. 1919-1929; 1930; 1935

4. Journal.

Published as: (St. Louis; Rochester; Washington)

1893-Jul 1914: *The Electrical Worker*

Aug 1914-1941+: *The Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators*

(Vs. 3-11 repeated in numbering; publication irregular during 1909-1910.)

Editors:

1896-1898: J. T. Kelley

1898-Oct 1905: Harry M. Sherman

Nov 1905-Jun 1912: Peter W. Collins

Jul 1912-Jan 1925: Charles P. Ford

Feb 1925-1941+: G. M. Bugniazet

III. CRITIQUE OF PUBLICATIONS

The journal of the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers underwent a drastic transformation in 1926 which makes it necessary to divide discussion of the journal into two periods.

Until 1926, news from locals, official announcements, and a long directory of locals comprised two-thirds to three-quarters of each issue, the issues ranging in length from sixty to ninety pages. The local news, submitted by specially-elected press secretaries, detailed the election of officers, deaths and accidents, contract negotiations, strikes, and jurisdictional disputes. In addition, the press secretaries often appended their opinions on such union matters as dues, assessments, benefit plans, jurisdiction of work, organization of certain groups, and also ventured into discussion of socialism, the single tax, government ownership or regulation, monopoly, and war. The international office announced strikes, changes in union laws and regulations, results of referendums, and members suspended or fined.

Before 1900, almost all of the remainder of each issue was filled with articles reprinted from other publications. Editorials were infrequent. After 1900 the reprinted material was partly supplanted by reports from the international president and vice-presidents on their activities as organizers and "contact" men

between the international office and locals; by a detailed financial report; and by regular editorials, dealing both with affairs of the Brotherhood and with general aspects of trade unionism, legislation, and world affairs.

The detailed financial statement was discontinued in 1905, the officers' reports, in 1914. New monthly features replaced them: a record of locals paid up or delinquent in per capita taxes; "Around the Circuit", a section dealing with current strikes, provisions of collective agreements, wage scales, and wage increases; a "Division of Labor Decisions," which included the texts of decisions affecting railroad electrical workers delivered by the Railroad Labor Board and the Boards of Adjustments; and "Cooperative News," which contained notes on the consumers' and producers' cooperative movements, usually reprinted from other sources. The journal occasionally published the collective agreements of the Brotherhood, its agreements with other unions settling jurisdictional disputes, legislative bills drawn up by locals, and letters and speeches of union officials.

From 1908 to 1913 the journal suffered from the fury of a factional conflict which almost destroyed the Brotherhood. Both factions published journals with identical names and almost identical formats. The edition published by the "legitimate" (AFL-recognized) faction appeared irregularly during 1909 and 1910, sometimes with four-month intervals between issues. Officers' reports were discontinued; local news and the directory appeared intermittently. Some issues, except for editorials and official announcements, were composed wholly of reprinted material; others were filled with articles, speeches, letters, and documents related to the current fight in the union. By the beginning of 1913 the AFL-recognized faction began to regain members and financial strength and its journal revived with it. When the other faction suspended its publication in August 1914, the "legitimate" journal became the organ of the reunited Brotherhood.

In 1925 Charles P. Ford, who had been editor since 1912, was succeeded by G. M. Bugniazet. In the following year a new policy with regard to format and subject matter completely transformed the journal into an all-purpose magazine for the instruction and entertainment of the electrical worker and his family.

On the pages formerly filled by long directories, reprints, official announcements, and local news, were sections on technical instruction, general science and health hints; cartoons; reproductions of famous paintings and sculpture; passages from great classics of literature and poetry. A woman's page furnished

household and fashion news, as well as articles explaining the function of women in the labor movement as workers, wives and daughters of workers, consumers, and voters. Between 1926 and 1930 several full-length novels appeared serially in the journal, among them Sabatini's *Scaramouche* and Norris' *The Octopus*.

The most striking result of the new policy was the introduction of original articles, which now became the heart of each issue. The articles encompassed every subject which might conceivably interest trade unionists and electrical workers. An entire issue was sometimes devoted to the analysis of a single subject. Between 1926 and 1941 articles discussed workers' education and the labor press; vocational education and apprenticeship; legislation (labor, social, safety); politics; administrative agencies, and court decisions; foreign governments, international relations, fascism and communism; stock ownership, profit sharing, and company unions; banking, money, credit, business cycles and unemployment; cooperatives and consumer movements; agricultural problems; Southern labor and industry.

The journal featured exhaustive studies of industries in which electrical work played a prominent role. Numerous articles explained the economic and technical characteristics of the power, construction, transportation, radio, and moving picture industries; described the extent of monopoly, government regulation and labor organization in them; examined the possibilities of expansion in each industry and the problems raised by the introduction of new production methods; and stressed the need for increasing or regularizing employment, shortening hours, and raising wages.

Some of these articles were written by the journal's staff, some by officers or members of the union, some by well-known economists, engineers, business executives, government officials, or labor leaders. In many cases the articles were compilations of data from other published sources—books, articles, government documents, corporation and union reports—with a small amount of analysis appended.

Several problems which disturbed the Brotherhood have received much attention in its journal. One was the delineation of jurisdiction, between locals of the Brotherhood and between the Brotherhood and other international unions. Records of conflicts with the Machinists, Engineers, Plumbers, Carpenters, Stage Employees, Street Car Employees, and, after 1937, with the rival United Electrical Radio and Machine Workers Union (CIO), can be found in local news and editorials of every volume of the journal from 1896 to 1941. Accounts of jurisdictional disputes

between locals—disputes which arose partly from the practice of chartering separate locals for each type of electrical work—appeared more frequently before the first World War than afterwards.

Serious dissension developed within the Brotherhood after 1900 and culminated in a secession movement in 1908. Contests between “inside” and “outside” and large and small locals for adoption of policies favorable to their respective situations, and contests between officers for control of the union, permeated the 1903-1908 issues of the journal. All the public and much of the secret data pertaining to the secession which finally came in 1908 were spread upon the pages of the rival journals and convention proceedings during the 1908-1914 period. Each faction amassed articles, editorials, speeches, letters, affidavits, and court decisions to support its version of what had occurred. The dispute centered on the removal of the international treasurer by President F. S. McNulty for incompetence and dishonesty. At a special convention in 1908, a large group of locals deposed McNulty and the international secretary, Peter W. Collins, and replaced them with J. J. Reid and J. W. Murphy. The Reid faction secured an injunction to prevent disbursement of union funds. The McNulty group secured another to forestall seizure of the international office. Samuel Gompers attempted, without success, to reconcile the groups. The AFL subsequently recognized the McNulty faction as the “legitimate” Brotherhood. Finally, in a court decision of February 1912 the 1908 convention was declared illegal and its actions void, and the union funds were restored to the AFL-recognized faction.

The 1912 court decision marked the turning point of the rebellion. Once more in possession of its funds and with AFL backing, the McNulty faction gradually won back its membership and by the middle of 1914 the locals which had comprised the Reid faction were absorbed. The capture of locals by the two factions, and the contests between them within city and state federations of labor and building trades councils, were repeatedly described in the local news section of their journals.

Accounts of organizing campaigns have occupied much space in the journal, especially those among railroad shop workers in the early twenties and among workers in electrical goods manufacturing in the late thirties. The union's interest in requirements for entrance into the electrical trade is revealed in discussions of vocational education, licensing of workers and contractors, apprenticeship, union examinations, and initiation fees. There has also

been much discussion of safety ordinances and codes, and of the development of industry standards by industry-labor councils or by government. The importance attached to employment opportunities is evidenced in a series of journal articles on the causes and cures of technological unemployment, and in movements to combat the industrialization of the construction field and to shorten the hours of work. In the twenties the Brotherhood urged the five-day week, in the thirties the thirty-hour week.

In addition to the material contained in the union journal, a great deal of information concerning the IBEW's history, policies, and problems has appeared in the annual officers' reports and the convention proceedings. Each issue of the officers' reports, which were published separately from the proceedings after 1913, numbered several hundred pages. The president's report described and analyzed all the important events and issues before the Brotherhood at the time. The vice-presidents' reports were detailed, chronological accounts of their activities since the previous convention. The secretary's and treasurer's reports consisted mainly of financial statements.

Resolutions, speeches, and constitutional amendments constituted a substantial portion of the convention proceedings. Some of the proceedings included the delegates' discussion of constitutional amendments. The delegates' opinions of Brotherhood policies and problems were usually stated with great candor and forcefulness. In 1903 to 1905, delegates heard disputes between locals regarding allotment of work and transference of members; in 1921 they considered organization of Negroes and changes in the benefit system; in 1927 the level of dues and alleged grafting by the international officers were discussed; in 1927 and 1929, there was discussion of officers' salaries and retirement pensions. The remaining proceedings printed little or no discussion but did record the vote of the convention on constitutional amendments.

ELECTRICAL WORKERS OF AMERICA, INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF (SECEDED FACTION)

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1908 At a special convention called by referendum, a large group of locals of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers of America (*q. v.*) elected their own international officers, and soon afterwards, set up their own separate international office, district councils, and financial system. This faction was "out-lawed" by the AFL.
- 1914 Absorbed into AFL-recognized faction of the Brotherhood.

II. PUBLICATIONS (Code Number: E2a)

1. Proceedings.
1908; 1911; 1913 (1913 *with* journal)
2. Constitutions.
1908; 1911
3. Journal.

Published as: (Springfield, Ill.)

Oct? 1908-Aug 1914: *The Electrical Worker*

(Ceased publication. Oct 1908-1910 numbered vs. 8-10; 1911-1912 marked v. 11; Jan-Feb 1913 marked v. 12; Mar 1913-Aug 1914 numbered vs. 21-22.)

Editors:

Oct? 1908-1913: F. J. Sullivan

Jan-Aug 1914: L. W. E. Kimball

III. CRITIQUE OF PUBLICATIONS

From the fall of 1908 to August 1914, the "seceded" or Reid-Murphy faction of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers published its own journal, identical in name and similar in format to the journal published by the "legitimate" or McNulty-Collins faction. F. J. Sullivan, the treasurer who had been removed by McNulty, was editor of the Reid journal until January 1913. Under his direction the journal was used to attack the McNulty group; every issue cast bitter diatribes, buttressed with documents and testimony, at the opposing faction. Relatively little technical material appeared, and most of the small amount of material reprinted from other sources concerned the Brotherhood's factional struggle.

Because the Reid faction accused the officers of the other faction of dishonesty and secrecy in their administration of union finances, the Sullivan journal scrupulously published detailed financial reports in each issue. Likewise, because the Reid faction put great emphasis on its system of district councils, long reports from the councils, with financial statements, appeared monthly.

In January 1913 Sullivan was succeeded by L. W. E. Kimball, who retained the financial and district council reports, but gave less space to the controversy between the factions and more to the efforts of the Reid group to organize workers, win strikes, and negotiate agreements. Kimball incorporated additional reprinted and technical material. At its 1913 convention, the Reid faction endorsed the principle of industrial unionism, and the journal, for the remainder of its publication, made industrial organization

the principal theme of its articles and editorials. At the same time the journal enthusiastically advocated government ownership of public utilities.

The Reid faction held three conventions, in 1908, 1911, and 1913. The proceedings of the first two were published and a summary of the third was printed in the journal. The 1908 proceedings contained some two hundred pages of testimony, affidavits, and letters, offered as evidence of McNulty and Collins' dishonesty, incompetence, and mistreatment of members, locals, and officers. The 1911 convention debated proposals for amalgamation of the factions, dues, assessments, initiation fees, apprenticeship rules, and officers' salaries. The adoption of a program for industrial organization occupied the 1913 convention. Detailed financial reports were included in the 1908 and 1911 proceedings, and reports of the day-by-day activities of vice-presidents in 1911 and 1913.

ELEVATOR CONSTRUCTORS, INTERNATIONAL UNION OF

Address: 12 S. 12th St., Philadelphia

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1901 Organized as National Union of Elevator Constructors of the United States.
- 1902 Affiliated with AFL under present name.
- 1934 Changed name to International Union of Elevator Constructors, Operators, and Starters.
- 1939 Resumed present name.

II. PUBLICATIONS

- 1. Proceedings.
2nd-4th ann., 1903-1905; 5th, 1907; 9th, 1916; 10th, 1920; 12th, 1924 (2nd, 3rd with journal)
- 2. Constitutions.
ann. 1901-1903; 1905; 1907; trien. 1910-1916; 1920; 1934
- 3. Journal.
Published as: (Chicago; Philadelphia)
Nov 1903-1941+: *The Elevator Constructor*

ENGINEERS, INTERNATIONAL UNION OF OPERATING

Address: 1003 K St., N. W., Washington

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1897 Organized. Affiliated with AFL as National Union of Steam Engineers.
- 1898 Changed name to International Union of Steam Engineers.
- 1912 Changed name to International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers.
- 1927 Merged with International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredge Men (*q. v.*).
- 1928 Adopted present name.

II. PUBLICATIONS

- 1. Proceedings.
 - [1st, 1897; 2nd, 1898]; 3rd-10th ann., 1899-1906; 11th-19th bien., 1908-1924; 20th, 1928; 21st, 1940 (8th-19th, 21st with journal)
- 2. Constitutions.
 - ann. 1898-1904; bien. 1906-1928; 1932; bien. 1938-1940
- 3. Journal.
 - Published as: (Chicago; Washington)
 - Dec 1901-May 1902: *The Stationary Engineer and Machinist*
 - Jul 1902-1926: *The International Steam Engineer*
 - 1927-1941+: *The International Engineer*

GRANITE CUTTERS' INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA, THE

Address: 25 School St., Quincy, Mass.

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1877 Organized as Granite Cutters' International Union of the United States and British Provinces of America.
- 1880 Changed name to Granite Cutters' National Union of the United States of America.
- 1881 Participated in formation of AFL.
- 1905 Adopted present name.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
1912
2. Constitutions.
1877; 1880; 1884; 1887; 1888; 1890; 1893; 1896; 1897;
1905; 1909; 1912; 1917; 1921; 1934; 1936; 1940
3. Journal.
Published as: (Rockland, Me.; Boston; Quincy, Mass.)
1877-1941+ : *The Granite Cutters' Journal*

HOD CARRIERS, BUILDING AND COMMON LABORERS' UNION OF AMERICA, INTERNATIONAL

Address: 821 15th St., N. W., Washington

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1903 Organized as International Hod Carriers and Building Laborers' Union of America. Affiliated with AFL.
- 1915 Absorbed cement laborers previously belonging to American Brotherhood of Cement Workers (*q. v.*).
- 1918 Merged with Compressed Air and Foundation Workers' International Union.
- 1929 Merged with the Tunnel and Subway Constructors' International Union.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
1st-5th ann., 1903-1907; 6th, 1909; 7th, 1911; 8th, 1941 (3rd-6th *with journal*)
2. Constitutions.
ann. 1903-1909; 1911; 1923; 1929; 1934; 1935; 1938
3. Journal.
Published as: (Chicago; Syracuse; Elmira, N. Y.)
1904-Sep 1909: *The Official Journal of the . . .* (Ceased publication)

LATHERS' INTERNATIONAL UNION; WOOD, WIRE, AND METAL

Address: Lathers' Bldg., Detroit Ave. and W. 26th St., Cleveland

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1899 Organized.
1900 Affiliated with AFL.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
[1st, 1899; 2nd, 1900]; 3rd-11th ann., 1901-1909; 12th, 1917;
13th, 1920; 14th-16th trien., 1923-1929; 17th, 1936; 18th, 1939
(3rd-8th, 12th, 14th, 15th-18th *with* journal)
2. Constitutions.
1899; ann. 1901-1903; 1905; ann. 1907-1909; 1911; trien.
1914-1929; 1936; 1939
3. Journal.
Published as: (Cleveland)
Dec 1900-1941+ : *The Lather*

MARBLE, SLATE AND STONE POLISHERS, RUBBERS AND SAWYERS, TILE AND MARBLE SETTERS HELPERS AND TERRAZZO HELPERS, INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF

Address: 815 15th St., Washington

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1901 Organized as International Association of Marble Workers.
1902 Affiliated with AFL.
1916 Marble setters absorbed by Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers'
International Union (*q. v.*). Changed name to International
Association of Marble, Slate and Stone Polishers, Rubbers
and Sawyers.
1921 Added "Tile and Marble Setters' Helpers" to name.
1931 Adopted present name.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
1902; 4th-13th ann., 1905-1914; 14th-17th bien., 1924-1930
(6th-12th *with* journal)
2. Constitutions.
1902; ann. 1905-1913; bien. 1924-1930
3. Journal.
Published as: (New York)
1907-1915: *The Marble Worker*
(Ceased publication. V. 5, no. 9-v. 6, no. 8; v. 7, no. 8-v. 8,
no. 9 omitted in numbering.)

PAINTERS, DECORATORS AND PAPERHANGERS OF AMERICA, BROTHERHOOD OF

Address: 217-219 N. 6th St., Lafayette, Ind.

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1887 Organized as Brotherhood of Painters and Decorators. Affiliated with AFL.
- 1891 Withdrew from AFL.
- 1892 Reaffiliated with AFL.
- 1894 Seceding faction of Middle West locals organized new organization, but claimed name of original organization.
- 1899 Eastern faction adopted present name.
- 1900 Eastern faction suspended by AFL. Middle West and Eastern factions merged under present name. Merged organization reinstated in AFL.
- 1915 Absorbed Amalgamated Glass Workers' International Association of America (*q. v.*)

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
[1st-3rd bien., 1888-1892]; 4th-6th bien., 1894-1898; 7th, 1899; 8th, 1901; 9th, 1905; 10th, 1909; 11th, 1913; 12th-14th quad., 1921-1929; 15th, 1937 (4th, 7th-11th, *with* journal)
2. Constitutions.
1887; 1892; ann. 1897-1899; 1901; bien. 1902-1908; ann. 1909-1911; 1913; ann. 1918-1922; 1926; 1929; 1932; ann. 1936-1938; 1940

3. Journal.

Published as: (Baltimore; Lafayette, Ind.)

1887-1889: *The Painter*1901-Jun 1905: *Official Journal*Jul 1905-1941+: *The Painter and Decorator*

Eastern faction (Syracuse):

1890-Feb 1897: *Painters Journal*Mar 1897-Aug? 1900: *Painters' and Paperhangers' Journal*

Middle West faction (Lafayette, Ind.):

1900: *Painters' Journal*

PLASTERERS' AND CEMENT FINISHERS' INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA, OPERATIVE

Address: 200 Fidelity Bldg., Cleveland

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1864 Organized as Operative Plasterers' International Association of the United States and Canada.
- 1908 Affiliated with AFL.
- 1914 Adopted present name.
- 1915 Absorbed cement finishers formerly belonging to American Brotherhood of Cement Workers (q. v.).

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.

[1st-9th ann., 1883-1891]; 10th, 1892; 11th, 1893; [12th-14th ann., 1894-1896]; 15th-24th bien., 1898-1916; 25th-27th trien., 1920-1926; 28th, 1928; 29th-31st bien., 1937-1941 (20th, 24th-28th *with journal*)

2. Constitutions.

bien. 1898-1916; trien. 1920-1926; 1928; 1937; 1939

3. Journal.

Published as: (St. Louis; Cicero, Ill.; Chicago)

1907-Sep 1941: *The Plasterer*Oct 1941+: *The Plasterer and Cement Finisher*

PLUMBERS AND STEAM FITTERS OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA, UNITED ASSOCIATION OF JOURNEYMEN

Address: 9th and Mt. Vernon Pl., N. W., Washington

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1889 Organized as United Association of Journeymen Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters and Steam Fitters Helpers of the United States and Canada; substantially a reorganization of the International Association of Journeymen Plumbers, Steam and Gas Fitters, 1880-1888.
- 1897 Affiliated with AFL.
- 1912 Absorbed membership of International Association of Steam, Hot Water and Power Pipe Fitters and Helpers (*q. v.*).
- 1913 Changed name to United Association of Plumbers and Steam Fitters of United States and Canada.
- 1921 Adopted present name.

II. PUBLICATIONS

- 1. Proceedings.
 1st-4th ann., 1890-1893; 5th, 1894; [6th, 1895]; 7th-9th ann., 1896-1898; [10th, 1899]; 11th-13th ann., 1900-1902; 14th-17th bien., 1904-1910; 18th, 1913; 19th, 1917; 20th, 1921; 21st, 1924; 22nd, 1928; 23rd, 1938 (5th, 7th, 9th, 11th-23rd *with journal*)
- 2. Constitutions.
 1892; 1893; ann. 1897-1901; bien. 1902-1910; 1913; 1917; 1921; 1924; 1928; 1938
- 3. Journal.
 Published as: (Chicago; Washington)
 1892?-1896: *Plumbers, Gas Fitters and Steam Fitters Journal*
 Oct 1898-Feb 1907: *Plumbers, Gas and Steam Fitters Official Journal*
 Mar 1907-May 1929: *Plumbers, Gas and Steam Fitters Journal*
 Jun 1929-1941+: *Journeymen Plumbers and Steam Fitters Journal*
 (Suspended at end of 1896; NS 1898; v. 19, no. 2-v. 22, no. 9 marked vs. 18-21; vs. 23-34 omitted in numbering.)

ROOFERS, DAMP AND WATERPROOF WORKERS OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA, INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF COMPOSITION

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1906? Organized as International Brotherhood of Composition Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers.
- 1906 Affiliated with AFL.
- 1909 Added "of the United States and Canada" to name.
- 1919 Merged with International Slate and Tile Roofers Union of America (*q. v.*) to form United Slate, Tile and Composition Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers' Association (*q. v.*).

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
3rd, 1906; 4th-6th bien., 1909-1913; 7th, 1916; 1919 (1919, joint conv. with International Slate and Tile Roofers Union (*q. v.*).)
2. Constitutions.
1906; bien. 1909-1913; 1916

ROOFERS, DAMP AND WATERPROOF WORKERS' ASSO- CIATION, UNITED SLATE, TILE AND COMPOSITION

Address: 1703 Terminal Tower, Cleveland

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1919 Organized as result of merger of International Slate and Tile Roofers Union of America (*q. v.*) with International Brotherhood of Composition Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers of the United States and Canada (*q. v.*). Affiliated with AFL.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
1919; 1st-5th bien., 1921-1929; 6th, 1938; 7th, 1940 (1919, joint conv.)
2. Constitutions.
1919; 1923; 1927; 1929; 1940
3. Journal.
Published as: (Cleveland)
Jun 1925-Oct 1927?: *The Journeymen Roofers Magazine*

ROOFERS UNION OF AMERICA, INTERNATIONAL SLATE AND TILE

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1902 Organized.
- 1903 Affiliated with AFL.
- 1919 Merged with International Brotherhood of Composition Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers of the United States and Canada (*q. v.*) to form United Slate Tile and Composition Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers' Association (*q. v.*).

II. PUBLICATIONS

- 1. Proceedings.
1st, 1903; 2nd, 1904; 3rd-7th ann., 1906-1910; 8th-10th ann., 1912-1914; 11th, 1916; 1919 (1919, joint conv. with International Brotherhood of Composition Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers (*q. v.*)).
- 2. Constitutions.
1908; 1910

STEAM, HOT WATER AND POWER PIPE FITTERS AND HELPERS, INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1888 Organized.
- 1899 Affiliated with AFL as National Association of Steam and Hot Water Fitters and Helpers of America.
- 1903 Expelled by AFL.
- 1905 Changed name to International Association of Steam, Hot Water and Power Pipe Fitters and Helpers.
- 1906 Reaffiliated with AFL.
- 1912 Ordered by AFL and Building Trades Department to merge with United Association of Journeymen Plumbers and Steam Fitters (*q. v.*). Refused to comply with order, but local unions withdrew and were chartered as locals of the plumbers' organization.

II. PUBLICATIONS

- 1. Proceedings.
8th, 1895; 10th-15th ann., 1897-1902; [1903]; 18th-22nd ann., 1905-1909; 23rd, 1911

2. Constitutions.
1900; 1903; 1905; 1906; 1908; 1909; 1911
3. Journal.
Published as: (Chicago)
Jan 1903-Jun 1913: *The Steam Fitter* (Ceased publication)

STEAM SHOVEL AND DREDGE MEN, INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1896 Organized.
- 1915 Merged with Associated Union of Steam Shovelmen (*q. v.*).
Affiliated with AFL as International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredge Men.
- 1919 Suspended by AFL.
- 1927 Merged with International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers (*q. v.*).

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Constitutions.
ann. 1906-1908; 1911; 1912; 1916; 1918; 1925
2. Journal.
Published as: (Chicago)
1896-Mar 1927: *Steam Shovel and Dredge*
(Vs. 31, 34 omitted in numbering. Absorbed by *The International Engineer*, organ of International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers (*q. v.*).)

STEAM SHOVELMEN, ASSOCIATED UNION OF

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1903 Organized.
- 1915 Merged with International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredge Men (*q. v.*).

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
1914
2. Constitutions.
1914
3. Journal.
Published as: (Chicago)
1903?-Dec 1914?: *Steam Shovel Magazine*

TILE LAYERS' AND HELPERS' INTERNATIONAL UNION, CERAMIC, MOSAIC AND ENCAUSTIC

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1888? Organized as Mosaic and Encaustic Tile Layers and Trade National Union.
- 1890 Affiliated with AFL.
- 1893 Disbanded.
- 1897 Reorganized as Mosaic and Encaustic Tile Layers' and Helpers' International Union.
- 1898 Reaffiliated with AFL.
- 1901 Adopted present name.
- 1918 Suspended by AFL.

II. PUBLICATIONS

- 1. Proceedings.
 - 1893; 1st-10th ann., 1899-1908; 11th-14th bien., 1910-1916 (1st, 7th-14th with journal)
- 2. Constitutions.
 - ann. 1888-1890; 1898; 1899; bien. 1901-1905; bien. 1910-1914
- 3. Journal.
 - Published as: (Allegheny, Pa.)
 - 1900-Jun 1918: *Tile Layers' and Helpers' Journal*
 - (Ceased publication. Suspended publication Feb 1909-Jul 1910; v. 17, no. 12 to v. 18, no. 11 omitted in numbering.)

CHAPTER 6

Extractive Industries

ENGINEERS, NATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF COAL HOISTING

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1896 Organized.
- 1899 Affiliated with AFL.
- 1903 Expelled from AFL.
- 1904? Absorbed by United Mine Workers of America (*q. v.*).

II. PUBLICATIONS

- 1. Proceedings.
4th-8th ann., 1900-1902
- 2. Constitutions.
ann. 1899-1902
- 3. Journal.
Published as: (Danville, Ill.)
1901?-1904: *The Hoisting Engineer* (Ceased publication)

FISHERMEN AND ALLIED WORKERS OF AMERICA, INTERNATIONAL UNION OF

Address: Arcade Bldg., Seattle, Wash.

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1939 Organized as outgrowth of Federated Fishermen's Council.
Affiliated with CIO.

II. PUBLICATIONS

- 1. Proceedings.
1st, 1939
- 2. Constitutions.
1940

FISHERMEN'S UNION OF THE PACIFIC, UNITED

Address: Arcade Bldg., Seattle, Wash.

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1937 Organized as result of merger of Salmon Purse Seiners of the Pacific; Deep Sea and Purse Seiners' Union; and Herring Fishermen's Union of the Pacific.
- 1938 Affiliated with CIO.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
1st, 1938
2. Constitutions.
1937

LOGGERS AND LUMBERMEN, LOYAL LEGION OF

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1917 Organized. It was not strictly a labor union, as its membership included employers as well as workers.
- 1918 Reorganized.
- 1937? Disbanded.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Constitutions.
1919; 1921; 1929?; 1934?
2. Journal.
Published as: (Portland, Ore.)
1919-1925: *Four L Bulletin*
1926-May 1937: *The Four L Lumber News* (Ceased publication)

MINE, MILL AND SMELTER WORKERS, INTERNATIONAL UNION OF

(Address: 303 Railway Exchange Bldg., Denver

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1893 Organized in Butte, Montana, as Western Federation of Miners.
- 1896 Affiliated with AFL.
- 1898 Withdrew from AFL. Participated in formation of Western Labor Union which later became American Labor Union (*q. v.*).
- 1904 Absorbed Northern Mineral Mineworkers' Progressive Union of America.
- 1905 Participated in formation of Industrial Workers of the World (*q. v.*).
- 1907 Withdrew from Industrial Workers of the World.
- 1911 Reaffiliated with AFL.
- 1916 Adopted present name.
- 1935 Participated in formation of CIO.
- 1936 Suspended by AFL.
- 1938 Expelled from AFL.
- 1942 Absorbed National Association of Die Casting Workers (*q. v.*).

II. PUBLICATIONS (Code Numbers: M2)

- 1. Proceedings.
[1st-7th ann., 1893-1899]; 8th, 1900; 9th-20th ann., 1901-1912; 21st-24th bien., 1914-1920; 25th-28th ann., 1928-1931; 30th, 1933; 31st, 1934; 33rd-38th ann., 1936-1941 (8th *with journal*)
- 2. Reports.
President: 1914; 1918; 1920
Secretary-Treasurer: bien. 1916-1920
- 3. Constitutions.
1893; 1897; May 1901; Nov 1901; ann. 1902-1904; ann. 1907-1912; bien. 1914-1920; 1927; 1930; 1931; 1934; 1935; 1937
- 4. Journal.
Published as: (Denver)
1900-May 1921: *The Miners' Magazine* (Ceased publication)
Jan-Nov 1938: *People's Press. Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Edition* (Ceased publication)

Dec 1938-1941+: *CIO News. Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Edition*

(V. 11 of *Miner's Magazine* repeated; v. 16 omitted in numbering.)

Editors:

1900-Jan 1902: Edward Boyce

Feb-Jul 1902: Lem J. Smith

Aug 1902-1914: John M. O'Neil

1915-May 1921: Charles H. Moyer

Dec 1938: No editor listed

Jan 16, 1939-May 8, 1939?: A. S. Embree

Oct 2, 1939?-Sep 8, 1941: Harold Rossman

Sep 15, 1941+: Graham Dolan

III. CRITIQUE OF PUBLICATIONS

In January 1900, seven years after its inception, the Western Federation of Miners undertook the publication of a monthly journal, *The Miners' Magazine*, which was to stimulate the solidification and enlargement of its ranks and to shape into a mighty industrial and political army the scattered "wage slaves" of the United States. The monthly ran from January 1900 through August 1903 and devoted itself to problems of trusts and monopolies, militarism, capitalism, immigration, support of political candidates, appraisal of government officials, and the social repercussions of church policy and behavior. More strictly union precepts were embodied in strike reports and in descriptions by local unions of their difficulties or successes, but the technical aspects of unionism and collective bargaining were discussed only rarely and always with a sense of high purpose. A "What Others Say" section, an anthology of verse, and current political comment completed the issues.

As a result of a convention resolution in 1903 calling for a more effective paper, *The Miners' Magazine* was merged with two Colorado journals, *The Colorado Chronicle* and *The Colorado Socialist*, and published weekly. "Wealth belongs to the producer thereof; labor produces all wealth" was its declared principle, and a man of socialist convictions, John M. O'Neill, its editor. O'Neill was often accused by the membership of perverting their magazine to his own opinions and purposes, especially in his condemnation of the IWW convention of 1906 and his promotion of the Socialist party, and he was not always supported in his conception of the magazine as a "powerful tribune against the masked machinations of corporate conspirators." He expressed the temper and senti-

ments of his readers, however, in his assaults on the "no politics" attitude of Samuel Gompers and the craft organization of the American Federation of Labor; in his tirades against the injunction and the "injunction judge," the blacklist, the militia, the scab, and the labor spy; and in his championship of industrial unionism, the eighth-hour day, the union label, civil liberties, and the right to organize. Editorials and articles on such subjects constituted half of the fourteen-page journal, while communications and exchanges shared equally the remaining space. This arrangement was preserved from August 1903 to August 1914, but after 1909 more and more reprinted editorials and articles were used and the exchange section was enlarged. The communications increased somewhat in length and number and continued regularly to recite the dogma of class conflict.

In the earlier years there was extensive discussion of the Industrial Workers of the World and of the Haywood, Moyer, Pettibone affair. The Western Federation of Miners, with several international industrial unions, had convened the Chicago Industrial Convention of July 27, 1905, in the hope of creating a federation to replace the declining American Labor Union. William Haywood, secretary-treasurer of the Western Federation of Miners, was permanent chairman of the Convention's executive committee. President Charles Moyer and Editor John O'Neill were delegates to the convention. The new organization, named the Industrial Workers of the World, was launched in July 1905. Wracked by dissension from the outset, it was finally split in the convention of September 17, 1906, by a factional conflict over convention representation, convention powers, the election of officers, and accusations of grafting, beneath which lay deep-seated differences of political belief. Of the representatives of the Western Federation of Miners to this convention, two sided with the Trautmann-DeLeon-Socialist-Labor party faction, and three with the Sherman group. O'Neill, when not disapproving of the entire proceeding, tended to favor Sherman. After exhaustive debate in the WFM 1907 convention, per capita payments to the IWW were stopped and delegates were appointed to represent the Miners at a proposed meeting of both factions and interested industrial unions for the reconstruction of the IWW. The Industrial Workers of the World which emerged after the split was abhorrent to the Western Federation of Miners and relations with it were ended immediately.

Throughout the two years (1906-1907) of the Haywood, Moyer, Pettibone affair, *The Miners' Magazine* railed at "capitalistic

justice" and the "capitalistic press" and raised funds for the defense of the union's leaders. Steunenberg, an ex-governor of Idaho, who had helped to break the Coeur d'Alene strike, had been murdered. A Pinkerton detective employed by the state won from the accused assassin an admission of guilt which implicated the Western Federation of Miners and its officers. Colorado facilitated extradition of the accused conspirators by a covert arrangement with the Idaho authorities, and shipped President Moyer, Treasurer Haywood, and ex-Executive Board Member Pettibone from Denver on February 18, 1906. These officers, defended by Clarence Darrow, were tried on charges of preaching and practicing violence. Haywood was acquitted in July 1907, Pettibone in January 1908, and Moyer's case was dismissed on the day of Pettibone's acquittal. The journal acclaimed this result as a great labor victory.

In the period 1909-1914, *The Miners' Magazine* with characteristic energy defied William Randolph Hearst, denounced the Boy Scout movement, advocated woman suffrage, and applauded the Socialist-Labor government of Milwaukee.

At the end of 1914 the journal suffered a striking change. Overwhelmed by the weight of fourteen years of deficits, it survived only as a four page monthly (October 1914—July 1915). Its editor departed, its socialist fervor waned, and it devoted itself to the "bread and butter" aspects of unionism. Restored to eight pages in August 1915, *The Miners' Magazine* consisted thereafter mainly of clippings from the daily press, the labor press—especially that of the AFL and the United Mine Workers—and the Bureau of Mines. Most of the editorials were reprinted from other sources. Except for the strict surveillance of disputes by the National War Labor Board, World War I passed almost unnoticed through its pages. Texts of collective agreements appeared, usually without comment. Of its favorite topics of the past only occasional organizers' reports, important strike histories, and a campaign against the IWW persisted.

The scarcity of original material in these last issues of the journal enhances the usefulness of the convention proceedings after 1914. Delegates' discussions were recorded for only the 1907 and 1914 conventions, but the annual officers' reports reviewed strikes, organizing campaigns, litigation, and finances, and laid before the membership the main policy issues facing the union each year.

The Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers held no conventions from 1921 to 1927, but met again in 1928 and almost every year there-

after. Until 1938 the proceedings afforded only summaries of delegates' discussions and the progress of the union must be judged from the reports of the president and secretary-treasurer. Verbatim proceedings after 1938 pictured more vividly the revival of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union which began in 1934. The convention discussions recorded the metal miners' interest in the progress of the CIO, of which they were ardent affiliates; in the expansion and administration of their own union; in collective bargaining contests; in the enforcement of the National Labor Relations Act, Fair Labor Standards Act, and Public Contracts Act; in political candidates and in the national defense program.

A Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers edition of the *CIO News* was adopted as the official organ of the union in December 1938, seventeen years after the last issue of *The Miners' Magazine*. The paper consisted of approximately five pages of news stories, editorials, pictures and cartoons taken from the weekly *CIO News*, to which were added three pages of news of the metal miners. Strikes and cases before the National Labor Relations Board occupied two-thirds of the miners' space. In 1939 the union's drive for the prevention of silicosis received much attention. Early in 1940 the membership twice voted down, despite strong pressure by the union officers, a proposal to increase the monthly per capita dues from forty cents to seventy-five. While the proposal was before the membership the journal campaigned vigorously for it. After the second defeat, the journal announced the retrenchment of the international's organizing activity and attributed it to the refusal of the membership to provide adequate funds. Beginning in October 1939, President Reid Robinson contributed a regular column in which he usually attacked the AFL proposals for amendment of the National Labor Relations Act, the size of industrial profits under the defense program, and—until December 1941—the Selective Service Act, the lend-lease program, and United States participation in the European war. A correspondence section, "The Open Forum," was instituted in 1940. Most of the letters from members during 1940 and 1941 dealt with the second World War.

MINE WORKERS OF AMERICA, PROGRESSIVE

Address: 5th and Monroe Sts., Springfield, Ill.

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1932 Organized by seceding faction of United Mine Workers of America (*q. v.*) under name of Progressive Miners of America.
 1938 Affiliated with AFL under present name.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Journal.

Published as: (Marissa, Ill.)

1932-1941+ : *Progressive Miner*

(Nov 18, 1932 is v. 1, no. 10; next issue, Nov 25, 1932, is v. 54, no. 11.)

MINE WORKERS OF AMERICA, UNITED

Address: 15th and I Sts., N. W., Washington

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1890 Organized as result of merger of National Progressive Union of Miners and Mine Laborers (*q. v.*) with portion of Knights of Labor National Trade Assembly 135. Affiliated with AFL.
 1904? Absorbed National Brotherhood of Coal Hoisting Engineers (*q. v.*).
 1932 Seceding faction in Illinois district organized Progressive Miners of America (*q. v.*).
 1935 Participated in formation of CIO.
 1936 Suspended by AFL. Organized Gas and By-Product Coke Workers, District 50 of the United Mine Workers of America (*q. v.*).
 1938 Expelled from AFL.

II. PUBLICATIONS (Code Number: M6)

1. Proceedings.

1890; 1st, 1891; 2nd, 1892; 4th-13th ann., 1893-1902; spec., Jul 1902; 14th-17th ann., 1903-1906; spec., Apr 1906; 18th, 1907; 19th, 1908; 19th, reconvened, Mar 1908; 20th, 1909;

21st, 1910; spec., Mar 1910; spec., Aug 1910; 22nd, 1911; 23rd, 1912; 24th-26th bien., 1914-1918; 27th, 1919; 27th reconvened, 1920; 28th, 1921; 29th-31st trien., 1924-1930; 32nd-37th bien., 1932-1940 (2nd-5th, 7th-9th *with* journal)

2. Constitutions.

1892; 1896; ann. 1898-1912; bien. 1914-1924; 1927; bien. 1930-1940

3. Journal.

Published as: (Columbus, O.; Indianapolis; Washington)

Apr 16, 1891-1941+: *The United Mine Workers Journal*

Editors:

Apr 16-Oct 25, 1891: National Executive Board

Nov 1, 1891-Sep 23, 1897: John Kane

Sep 30, 1897-Jan 26, 1899: Thomas W. Davis

Feb 2, 1899-Apr 11, 1901: W. C. Scott

Apr 18, 1901: Chris Evans

Apr 25, 1901-Apr 2, 1908: S. M. Sexton

Apr 9, 1908-Mar 30, 1911: William Scaife

Apr 6, 1911-Mar 28, 1912: Michael Halapy

Apr 4-May 30, 1912: Joseph Poggiani

Jun 6, 1912-Oct 29, 1914: Edgar Wallace

Nov 5-Nov 26, 1914: Edgar Wallace and Joseph Poggiani

Dec 3, 1914-Dec 27, 1917: Edgar Wallace, Joseph Poggiani and Michael Halapy

Jan 3-Jan 24, 1918: Joseph Poggiani and Michael Halapy

Jan 31-Feb 7, 1918: Joseph Poggiani, Michael Halapy and Edgar Wallace

Feb 14-Mar 28, 1918: Edgar Wallace

Apr 4-Jun 6, 1918: Robert H. Harlin

Jun 13, 1918-1941+: Ellis Searles

III. CRITIQUE OF PUBLICATIONS

When the National Progressive Union of Miners and Mine Laborers and the Knights of Labor National Trade Assembly 135 met in joint convention in 1890 and established the United Mine Workers of America, they agreed that the new union was not to impair the sovereignty or jurisdiction of either organization. It would serve simply as a working alliance between these rival miners' unions to enable them to present a united front to coal operators in collective bargaining. Despite this agreement the Progressive Union identified itself with the United Mine Workers and was soon organizing locals in the name of the new union. The Knights protested vigorously but were overshadowed within a few years.

The growth and activities of the United Mine Workers were for some twenty years reported primarily in the reports of officers to union conventions. From about 1909 on the *United Mine Workers Journal*, established in 1891, provided an additional source of information on the activities of the international, and the news coverage of union affairs became even more complete after 1918. The content of the journal and the convention proceedings is discussed in greater detail below. The main theme running through the publications has been the attempt of the union to secure and maintain industry-wide collective agreements for both the anthracite and bituminous coal industries. The high points in this struggle, as reported in the publications, may be briefly noted.

Like its predecessors, the United Mine Workers faced numerous small coal producers in keen competition with one another. It was essential, therefore, for the union to organize the greater part of the operators in order to be able to bargain with any one of them. The Mine Workers constantly maintained campaigns to bring new areas—notably Alabama, Colorado, Kentucky, Western Pennsylvania, and West Virginia—under their control. Since the nature of the coal industry required industry-wide bargaining, the Mine Workers attempted from the beginning to negotiate master trade agreements for both the anthracite and bituminous regions. Master agreements, they contended, would benefit the operators by eliminating the competitive price cutting which could occur when operators were free to shift price reductions to wages. The technique of joint conferences with operators adopted by the Mine Workers had been used in the anthracite industry as early as 1869 and in the bituminous industry from 1886-1889.

In the bituminous industry, the Mine Workers from 1891 through 1927 placed primary emphasis on master agreements with the operators of the central competitive field, which included the leading bituminous producing states of that period: western Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. The terms secured from these operators, embodied in the so-called interstate agreement, determined the provisions of the agreements signed in other districts.

The first interstate agreement was secured in 1898, after industry-wide strikes in 1894 and 1897. Interstate agreements continued to be negotiated by joint conference until 1906, when Pittsburgh operators rejected the union's demands. The Mine Workers struck, but lost. A special convention then authorized national and district officials to make separate district or sub-district agreements for the two years beginning April 1, 1906.

Thereafter, with the exception of 1912, the Mine Workers were unable to revive the interstate agreement until 1916.

The United States Fuel Administration, under the authority of the Lever Act of 1917, participated in the negotiation of the 1918 interstate agreement, which was "to be extended during the continuation of the war, not to exceed two years from April 1, 1918." In 1919 the union struck for higher wages and shorter hours, which the operators refused on the ground that the 1918 agreement had not expired. President Wilson intervened in the dispute and appointed a special commission to draw up the basic provisions of a new interstate agreement, which remained in effect from 1920 through 1922.

After 1921, excess capacity in the coal industry and the growth of production in non-union fields produced a progressive breakdown of the master agreement system, which collapsed entirely in 1927. The agreement of 1922 was won only after a bitter and violent seven-months strike. Intervention by President Harding's Bituminous Commission was necessary in 1923 to secure a year's extension of the 1922 contract. In 1924 the central competitive field signed a three-year agreement, but before the end of 1924 operators in the Pittsburgh district cut wages. From December 1924 through December 1926 the United Mine Workers fought one wage reduction after another at a stated cost of eight millions in relief for striking and locked-out members. In 1927 the operators of the central competitive field refused to attend a joint conference. After further disastrous strikes, the United Mine Workers yielded and made whatever separate agreements it could.

Having failed to stabilize the industry through collective bargaining, the Mine Workers, which had already turned to state legislatures for safety inspection, certificate and anti-screen laws, workmen's compensation, and old age assistance, applied to Congress for aid in controlling output and prices. In 1928 it secured a Senate investigation of the Ohio, West Virginia, and Pennsylvania fields. In the same year it sponsored the Watson bill and in 1932 the Davis-Kelly bill, both of which permitted the formation of marketing pools under government supervision and protected collective bargaining. It lobbied vigorously for the National Industrial Recovery Act and, after its death, for the Bituminous Coal Conservation Act of 1935, the Bituminous Coal Act of 1937, and the National Labor Relations Act.

The National Industrial Recovery Act, by protecting collective bargaining and coming to the economic rescue of the coal industry, enabled the United Mine Workers to increase its membership and

regain the interstate agreement. From 1933 on the interstate agreement covered the operators of Ohio, central and western Pennsylvania, Michigan, West Virginia, Maryland, eastern Kentucky, Tennessee, and Virginia, which comprised the so-called "Appalachian area" and had displaced the central competitive field as the leading bituminous producer. The terms of this agreement formed the basis for agreements in surrounding districts. The interstate agreement was negotiated on an annual basis from 1933 to 1936 and on a biennial basis from 1937 through 1941. Strikes occurred in 1939 over the union shop and in 1941 over elimination of the North-South wage differential, both of which demands were eventually won by the union.

The anthracite producing areas were not substantially organized until late in 1899. In the next year the union requested a conference with the anthracite operators of Pennsylvania, but the request was refused. The union struck and won the ten per cent wage increase it had demanded. The operators' refusal to attend a joint conference in 1902 provoked a five-months industry-wide strike which ended when the operators accepted arbitration by President Theodore Roosevelt. The successful outcome of the strike swelled the anthracite membership of the United Mine Workers and brought glory to John Mitchell, young president of the union. October 29 was thereafter honored as "Mitchell Day."

The first tri-district agreement, based on the award of President Roosevelt's anthracite commission, was in effect from 1903 to 1906. The anthracite miners' determination to maintain the tri-district agreement involved them in six more industry-wide strikes—in 1906, 1912, 1922, 1923, 1925, and 1941—but they were never forced to negotiate separate agreements with individual operators.

Perhaps the most spectacular effort of the union to win its demands was the bituminous strike of 1919, mentioned above. Two federal injunctions issued under the Lever Act failed to halt the walkout; and despite the citation of eighty-four union officers for contempt, the strike did not end until President Wilson secured a promise of substantial wage increases from the operators.

Wage adjustments, demanded so vigorously during the 1919 strike, were uppermost in the miners' minds during the period of United States participation in the World War. Before 1917 scattered editorials in the *United Mine Workers Journal*, echoing the vote of the 1914 convention for an industry-wide strike in case of a declaration of war, opposed preparedness by the United States. After entry of the United States into the War, the journal insisted

on maintenance of pre-war labor standards and, emphasizing the sharp rise in living costs, argued for wage increases. At the same time the journal forcefully declared that the miners must support their country. It rebuked critics who accused the miners of absenteeism, draft evasion, profiteering on the war and "nouveau-riche behavior," and enumerated with pride the miners' contributions to the war effort.

Closely associated with the Mine Workers' attempts to negotiate master agreements was its insistence on the observance of contracts by its districts. Many an editorial urged the sacredness of contracts. As early as 1918 the interstate agreement provided that employers might levy fines on miners who struck during the life of the agreement. The union constitution also empowered the international officers to take punitive action against union members and officials involved in unauthorized strikes. In 1921, for example, the international executive board suspended the autonomy of the Kansas district because strikes were called at the Dean and Reliance mines without regard for grievance machinery stipulated in the district's contract.

The power of the international executive board to suspend the autonomy of districts and to appoint provisional governments for the duration of the suspension was exercised also for other types of offense. In 1929, for example, the international board revoked the charter of a sub-district of the Illinois district, charging embezzlement by sub-district officers of property belonging to locals under them. The officers of the Illinois district successfully enjoined the international executive board from revoking the district charter, a punitive measure aimed at the district's alleged insubordination and attempt at dual unionism.

The development of collective bargaining in the coal industry was carefully reported to the conventions of the United Mine Workers by its international officers. The reports of the president (1891-1927) and vice-president (1901-1927) both contained descriptions of strikes and organizing campaigns. The vice-president usually confined himself to these subjects, however, and his accounts of them were more detailed. The president also discussed such perennial problems as union membership, strike funds, mine accidents, child labor in the mines, injunctions and other litigation, the union label, support of political candidates, and also special issues existing at the time. The secretary-treasurer's report (1891-1927) contained a detailed statement of the union's financial position.

Beginning in 1930 the international officers presented joint reports summarizing events and problems between conventions. In 1930 and 1932 the economic characteristics and difficulties of the bituminous industry were stressed. In 1934 the coal codes under the National Industrial Recovery Act received the most attention. The joint reports included a summary financial statement as substitute for the extensive reports previously submitted by the secretary-treasurer.

In addition to officers' reports, the proceedings contained reports of the committees on officers' reports, resolutions, grievances, constitution, and wage scale. Discussion of these reports by delegates was recorded after 1905.

Sixteen months after its formation, the United Mine Workers introduced an eight-page weekly paper. From 1891 to 1904 the *United Mine Workers Journal* consisted almost entirely of letters. Members regularly exchanged notes on the quality of the veins they were working, the character of foremen and operators, the number of miners unemployed in their localities, mine hazards and accidents, wage scales, and, occasionally, social news. There were also longer letters complaining of company stores and faulty scales, and analyzing organizing and bargaining techniques. The miners' eight-hour campaign in 1891 stimulated general consideration of such tactical problems as maintaining an adequate treasury, coordinating district activities, and estimating the employer's power of resistance. Contributors to the journal, some of whom were Negro organizers, pointed out the desirability of organizing Negro and alien workers. During 1899-1902 two pages of the journal were printed in Slavonian.

Since the editor was careful to obey the mandate that the journal be a "trade union paper," letters of a controversial nature were segregated in the "Free Debate" column. Here members, limited only by the requirement that their letters be "scientific and non-partisan," discussed populist proposals, monetary theory, participation of labor unions in politics, and arbitration. The journal also contained editorials on organizing and bargaining problems, a summary of Congressional action on bills affecting organized labor and the working class, miscellaneous news items, and serial stories. The serial stories were the chief offering of the journal in the lean years from 1905-1907 and continued to be featured until 1911.

Although the journal reported the important strikes of 1894, 1897, 1902, and 1906, it did not provide a general news coverage of union affairs until 1909, by which time several pages of news appeared each week. In 1909, also, the name of the "Free Debate"

column was changed to the "Forum." Except for a long discussion of socialism among an ardent few, letters to the "Forum" usually expressed dissatisfaction with the state of the union and, directly or by implication, with the administration of President Thomas L. Lewis. The most frequent accusation was that President Lewis used the international organizers, who were appointed by him, to campaign for his re-election. In the 1910 convention Lewis was charged with having advised Kansas operators to refuse the miners the check-off. Although he was not convicted, the 1911 convention bowed him from the presidency with the gift of a pick and shovel.

Distrust of the presidential appointive power awakened by T. L. Lewis grew during subsequent administrations and found expression in resolutions to have the international and district executive boards review the appointment of organizers (1918) and to provide that organizers, field workers, and traveling auditors be elected (1919, 1921, 1924, 1930-1936). In each of these conventions, however, the resolutions committee opposed abolition of the appointive power, and its proponents were never able to muster sufficient votes to override the committee's recommendation.

A similar struggle arose over officers' salaries. On the recommendation of the resolutions committee, the delegates to the 1921 convention tabled a motion "to instruct the international officers to refund a certain portion of the salaries paid them." In 1927 there was bitter but unavailing opposition to a proposed salary increase, and the efforts made at the next two conventions to reduce salaries also failed. The 1936 convention approved a new increase which had been reported favorably by the resolutions committee.

Beginning in December, 1914, the *United Mine Workers Journal* numbered thirty-two pages. Despite this expansion, news coverage declined and correspondence and editorials again contributed most of the information. In a "News Exchange" section, members discussed strikes, mine accidents, cooperative ventures, business conditions, strike relief, and, occasionally, local political activities. Editorials during the period 1914-1918 dealt not only with the usual round of union problems but also with the special problems presented by the World War. Four pages of the journal were printed in Italian and four in Slavonian, a foreign section having been resumed after fourteen years as a result of repeated requests made at conventions.

The financial strain of almost four years of a thirty-two page weekly caused retrenchment to a twenty-four page semi-monthly

in August 1918. At the same time a professional newspaperman, Ellis Searles, was appointed editor and a newspaper format was adopted. Although the foreign language section was reduced to six pages, it was not discontinued until March 1933. A correspondence section, whose letters were brief and contained little analysis of the events and problems related, performed the function of the "News Exchange" in one page instead of several. After 1922 correspondence practically disappeared. For the first time districts had formal representation in a column made up of letters describing district wage scales, strikes, organizing campaigns, the adjustment of grievances, and elections; notices of district and sub-district conventions and the acquisition of property by the districts; and official letters to various districts from the international officers. "News from Districts" lasted from April 1918 to April 1919; it reappeared in June 1938—this time in "spot news" form. There were separate sections for the anthracite districts, from July 1935; for the Nova Scotia district, 1936-1938; and for District 50, March 1940-April 1, 1941. A women's page—with home, beauty and personality hints, recipes, and fashions—was included from 1918 through 1941. A jokes and sayings page, instituted at the end of 1923, also continued through 1941.

The most striking change in the journal after 1918 was a new emphasis on the international rather than its locals and districts. Members contributed less and less local news to the journal; and news reports of such events as the 1919, 1922, and 1925 strikes, the contempt cases under the Lever Act, and the Coronado cases focussed attention on the international and its officers rather than the districts or locals. Moreover, during the twenties and early thirties, when the United Mine Workers was troubled by dual unionism and internal dissension, the journal attempted to shield the international from criticism and the menace of rival unionism. In 1923 it "exposed" the "communist revolutionary movement to seize America." It denounced the Communist National Miners Union, organized in 1928. It branded as communistic the Save-the-Union and Pennsylvania-Ohio Relief Committees formed within the UMW in 1928 during the strikes resulting from the operators' scrapping of the 1924 interstate agreement. During the whole of 1930 the journal railed at the officers of the Illinois district. It credited communists with the 1932 secession movement in Illinois which established itself as the Progressive Miners of America. By the time the Progressive Miners affiliated with the AFL, however, that accusation had been abandoned.

From 1936 through 1941 the *United Mine Workers Journal* continued to cover its own organization and, in addition, printed a large amount of news of the CIO. Although discussion and praise of the industrial form of organization appeared in the journal only a few times, during World War I and in 1934 and 1935, the delegates to the 1936 convention unanimously approved the leadership of President John L. Lewis in organizing industrial unions. Subsequent conventions through 1941 reiterated their approval of and readiness to support the CIO.

MINERS AND MINE LABORERS, NATIONAL PROGRESSIVE UNION OF

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1885 Organized as National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers.
- 1888 Merged with faction of Knights of Labor National Trade Assembly 135 to form National Progressive Union of Miners and Mine Laborers.
- 1890 Merged with remainder of National Trade Assembly 135 to form United Mine Workers of America (*q. v.*).

II. PUBLICATIONS

- 1. Proceedings.
2nd-4th ann., 1886-1888; spec., Dec 1888
- 2. Constitutions.
1885; 1886; 1888

OIL WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL UNION

Address: 108 W. 8th St., Fort Worth

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1917 Organized by group of AFL federal locals as International Association of Oil Field, Gas Well, and Refinery Workers of America.
- 1918 Affiliated with AFL.
- 1935 Participated in formation of CIO.
- 1936 Suspended by AFL.

1937 Adopted present name.

1938 Expelled from AFL.

II. PUBLICATIONS (Code Number: 01)

1. Proceedings.

1st-4th bien., 1919-1924; [5th, 1926]; 6th, 1934; 7th, 1936;
8th-12th ann., 1937-1941 (3rd and 4th mimeographed)

2. Constitutions.

1919; bien. 1922-1926; bien. 1934-1936; ann. 1937-1940

3. Journal.

Published as: (Bakersfield, Cal.; Long Beach, Cal.)

1918-May 22, 1924?: *The California Oil Worker*

May 29, 1924?-Jul 1, 1925: *The Oil Worker*

Jul 23, 1925-Dec 3, 1925?: *The International Oil Worker*

Jul 12, 1926?-Sep 16, 1929?: *The Oil Worker*

Apr 27, 1934?-Dec 13, 1935: *The International Oil Worker*

1938-1941+: *CIO News. Oil Workers' Edition*

(Volume enumeration very confused. No material found for following periods, possibly indicating suspension: Jan-Jun 1926; Aug 1926-Jun 1928; Oct 1929-Mar 1934. Ceased publication Dec 1935; NS, 1938.)

Editors:

Jan-Feb 1923: E. B. Daniels

Mar-Dec 1923: William McClellan Cook

Dec 20-Dec 27, 1923: Harvey C. Fremming

Jan-Jul 1925: Harvey C. Fremming

Jul 25-Dec 1925: Fred W. Jackson

Jul 12, 1926: No editor listed

Jul 13, 1928-Sep 16, 1929: Harvey C. Fremming

Apr 27, 1934-Dec 13, 1935: Franklin E. Wolfe

III. CRITIQUE OF PUBLICATIONS

In 1918 a number of AFL federal locals in the California oil fields, which had been organized in the preceding year, were chartered by the AFL as the International Association of Oil Field, Gas Well, and Refinery Workers of America, with jurisdiction over "all bona fide wage earners of the oil industry." After making substantial gains in both California and Texas, the union was almost destroyed by a serious factional conflict which broke into the open at the 1920 convention and by the loss of an important strike called to secure recognition from the Oil Operators Association in the fall of 1921. On their return to work after an eight-week strike, more than half of the strikers found themselves black-

listed. Union membership dwindled rapidly. Of the fifty-five locals represented at the 1920 convention, only ten were represented in 1922. Organizing efforts were resumed in 1925, authority was centralized in the international instead of being distributed among the districts, and the union began to revive. Not until 1934, however, did it reach the level of membership achieved in 1920.

President Fremming of the Oil Workers supported John L. Lewis in pressing for industrial unionism and revision of jurisdictional boundaries at the 1935 AFL convention. The Oil Workers had had frequent jurisdictional disputes with craft unions, especially the Boiler Makers, and the AFL Metal Trades Department had attempted to have the Oil Workers' charter revoked. The union was one of the initial members of the Committee for Industrial Organization and was consequently suspended by the AFL. In 1938 its charter was revoked and it continued as a CIO affiliate.

During 1939 the union waged important strikes against the Mid-Continent Petroleum Company at Tulsa and the Gulf Oil Company at Toledo, both of which involved recognition of the union and were much discussed in the union journal. The Mid-Continent strike was still unsettled in 1941 and was causing a considerable loss in membership; the Gulf Oil strike ended in an agreement to abide by the results of a National Labor Relations Board election.

The history of the Oil Workers was reported in the various journals of the union. All of these used a newspaper format. The *California Oil Worker* of 1923 usually contained four or six pages. Much of the space was filled with articles reprinted from the *American Federationist* and from local labor papers. Editorials dealt usually with such general subjects as the flaws in the capitalist system, the causes of radicalism, the value of industrial unionism, and the philosophy of the IWW, or with current issues in the labor world, such as the administration of the railroads, Henry Ford's labor policies, and outstanding strikes. Editorials confined to interests of the Oil Workers' Union were infrequent. In addition, the journal contained many short items of local news, including comments on organizing campaigns, wage conferences and negotiations with employers, local meetings, initiations, results of elections of officers, and social events. The journals of 1925 to 1929 were very similar to those of 1923, though they were published irregularly and the name varied between the *Oil Worker* and the *International Oil Worker*. An organizers'

section, inaugurated in 1925, suggested arguments which an organizer should employ in urging men to join, and also contained general comments on organizing technique, the philosophy of unionism, and the attitudes of the non-union worker.

The *International Oil Worker* of April 1934—December 1935 contained a considerable number of articles and editorials on the National Industrial Recovery Act and on other government activities and legislation affecting the union. There were also frequent articles on such general labor subjects as labor saving devices, the use of strikes, labor spies, communist activities within unions, foreign labor movements and foreign affairs, and the effects of fascism on the labor movement. Local news items continued to appear, as did columns of comment on current events and developments in the labor movement. Another column appearing regularly was "Time and the Hour," which dealt almost exclusively with communism, communists, and the activities of the Communist International.

The *CIO News. Oil Workers' Edition*, established in 1938, contained about two and one-half pages of news pertaining to the Oil Workers' union. In these pages were brief lists of local secretaries, negotiations pending, policies adopted by the executive council, referendums to be held by the union, lists of cases before the National Labor Relations Board, and also paragraphs of local news and short articles on conditions in particular companies.

Convention proceedings were published verbatim only in 1920, 1934, and 1937-1941, though partial reports of the discussions were published in some of the other years. One of the subjects most frequently discussed in conventions was how to ensure democratic control of the union. Proposals to elect officers by referendum vote, to vest control of organizers in the district councils instead of the president, to expand the powers of the district councils in other ways, to impose restrictions on the exercise of power by the president, and to empower the executive council to remove administrative officers were debated at length. From 1934 on, and especially during the 1940 convention after the failure of the international officers to settle the Mid Continent strike, the delegates were critical of the officers and desirous of curtailing their power and increasing that of the district councils.

An itemized statement of receipts, expenditures, cash on hand, and the position of each of the union funds was presented to each convention, though this was variously entitled the report of the auditing committee, the secretary-treasurer, the secretary, and

the finance committee. The main report on the current condition of the union was presented sometimes by the president, sometimes by the executive council. This report dealt with such matters as union finances and membership, organizing progress, wage changes and wage policies, contracts negotiated with employers, legislative accomplishments, relations with the AFL or CIO, and the economic condition of the oil industry.

In 1920 and from 1936 on the vice-presidents gave brief accounts of their activities in connection with organizing campaigns, negotiations, and strikes. From 1937 on the district councilmen reported briefly on council activities in their district, including conferences held, wage increases secured, the condition of the various locals, new locals chartered, organizing drives, legislative gains made by the district, CIO activities in the district, business conditions, and special problems of the area. These reports provided a detailed picture of the union's problems, activities and accomplishments in each part of the country.

SLATE WORKERS, AMERICAN BROTHERHOOD OF

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1904 Organized as result of merger of International Union of Slate Quarrymen, Splitters and Cutters with AFL federal locals under name of International Union of Slate Workers.
- 1905 Affiliated with AFL.
- 1911 Changed name to American Brotherhood of Slate Workers.
- 1916 Disbanded.

II. PUBLICATIONS

- 1. Proceedings.
 - 1st-6th ann., 1904-1909
- 2. Constitutions.
 - 1904; 1906; 1911

STONE AND ALLIED PRODUCTS WORKERS OF AMERICA, UNITED

Address: Scampini Bldg., Barre, Vt.

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1903 Organized as Quarry Workers' International Union of North America. Affiliated with AFL.
- 1938 Withdrew from AFL and affiliated with CIO.
- 1940 Adopted present name.

II. PUBLICATIONS

- 1. Proceedings.
2nd, 1929; 3rd, 1940
- 2. Constitutions.
1903; 1905; 1906; 1911; 1914; 1920; 1926; 1929; 1930;
1934; 1941
- 3. Journal.
Published as: (Barre, Vt.)
1904-Feb 1938: *Quarry Workers' Journal*
(Ceased publication. Vs. 23, 24 repeated in numbering.)

TENANT FARMERS UNION, SOUTHERN

Address: 66 S. Third St., Memphis

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1934 Organized.

II. PUBLICATIONS

- 1. Proceedings.
2nd-7th ann., 1936-1941
- 2. Constitutions.
1935; 1940
- 3. Journal.
Published as: (Memphis)
Apr 1935-Sep 1937: *The Sharecroppers' Voice*
Apr 1938-? : *S. T. F. U. News*
1941+ : *The Tenant Farmer*

TIMBERWORKERS, INTERNATIONAL UNION OF

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1917 Organized. Affiliated with AFL.
1918 Merged with International Shingle Weavers of America (*q.v.*).
1923? Disbanded.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
[1st, 1918]; 2nd-4th ann., 1919-1921
2. Constitutions.
ann. 1917-1921
3. Journal.
Published as: (Aberdeen, Wash.)
Feb 3-Apr 14, 1917?: *American Timberworker*
Mar 23-Jun 15, 1918: *The Timberworker*
Jun 22, 1918-Apr 1921?: *Timberworkers' Department*
(Feb 3-Apr 14, 1917?; Jun 22, 1918-Apr 1921? in *Seattle Union Record.*)

CHAPTER 7

Metals and Machinery

ALUMINUM WORKERS OF AMERICA

Address: 209-211 Shepard Bldg., New Kensington, Pa.

I. CHRONOLOGY

1937 Organized by seceding faction of National Council of Aluminum Workers. Affiliated with CIO.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
1937; 1st, 1938; 2nd, 1940
2. Constitutions.
1937; 1938; 1940
3. Journal.
Published as: (Philadelphia; Harrisburg, Pa.; New Kensington, Pa.)
1938-1941+ : *CIO News. Aluminum Workers Edition*

AUTOMOBILE, AIRCRAFT AND AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENT WORKERS OF AMERICA, UNITED

Address: 411 W. Milwaukee Ave., Detroit

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1935 Organized as International Union United Automobile Workers of America. Affiliated with AFL.
- 1936 Affiliated with CIO. Suspended by AFL.
- 1938 Expelled from AFL.
- 1939 Seceding faction organized union under same name, which later affiliated with AFL.
- 1941 Adopted present name.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
[1935]; 1st, 1936; 2nd, 1937; spec., 1939; 5th, 1940; 6th, 1941
2. Constitutions.
1936; 1937; ann. 1939-1941
3. Journal.
Published as: (Detroit)
1936-1941+: *United Automobile Worker*
Editors:
Jun 1936-Jan 14, 1939: Homer Martin
Jan 21, 1939-Oct 1, 1940: International Executive Board
Oct 15, 1940-Aug 1, 1941: R. J. Thomas
Aug 15, 1941+: Carl Haessler

III. CRITIQUE OF PUBLICATIONS

Union organization of automobile workers was attempted very early in the industry's history, but achieved little success until after the passage of the National Industrial Recovery Act in 1933. In 1935 the AFL federal locals in the industry were combined in the newly-chartered United Automobile Workers of America. The AFL continued direct tutelage of the union, however, until the 1936 convention, at which the UAW elected its own officers. Shortly thereafter, it absorbed several independent unions and established itself as the dominant union in the industry. Questions of jurisdiction and of relations with the AFL and CIO were much discussed at the 1936 convention which eventually adopted a compromise resolution extending the union's jurisdiction into craft union territory but promising to seek ratification of this action by the next AFL convention. The union's determination to pursue this course led to its affiliation with the CIO later in 1936, and its suspension and eventual expulsion from the AFL.

The *United Automobile Worker*, a tabloid newspaper published by the UAW, consists primarily of news stories on union activities and problems, but also contains officers' columns, editorials, and letters from members.

President R. J. Thomas and Secretary George Addes have written weekly columns since 1939, which discuss both internal union problems and the union's attitude on national and international issues. Quarterly reports by Secretary Addes have been printed since 1939. In addition to summarizing the union's organizing and bargaining achievements, these reports describe the work of the educational, welfare, and other departments of the union. Editorials are briefer than the officers' columns, and are appar-

ently intended to arouse the membership to write letters to congressmen or take other actions on specific issues. Letters from members cover a wide range of topics, their content tending to parallel the issues discussed in other parts of the journal. Since 1939, the journal has also carried a page of news from locals, which contains notes on organizing progress, negotiations with employers, provisions of contracts signed, election of local officers, and social activities.

Proceedings of the union's annual conventions have been reported verbatim from 1936 to date. The proceedings consist largely of speeches by visiting union officers and other guests, and discussion, usually brief, of resolutions and constitutional amendments. They also contain annual reports of the principal international officers. The secretary-treasurer's report contains a brief summary of the financial condition of the union, followed by a detailed account of the receipts and disbursements of each department. The president's report, in addition to discussing the condition and problems of the union, summarizes the cases handled by the legal department, the work of the educational bureau, and the findings of the research department. The research department conducts extensive studies of wages, production, employment, and other aspects of the automobile and aircraft industries. The educational bureau, created in 1936, trains members in trade union philosophy and parliamentary procedure, in addition to keeping them informed of national and international political developments. The work of these departments is discussed also in convention debates and in the columns of the union journal.

The union's successful effort to organize the automobile industry and the beginnings of its drive into aircraft and agricultural implement plants are pictured in its publications. News stories in the *Automobile Worker* give a clear picture of the union's organizing tactics, including the use made of National Labor Relations Board procedures. The membership of the UAW grew from forty thousand in 1936 to well over five hundred thousand in 1941, at which time the union had contracts covering almost a thousand plants. Highlights in this development were the conclusion of contracts with the General Motors Corporation in 1937 and the Ford Motor Company in 1941.

In spite of the UAW's organizing and bargaining successes, it suffered from the beginning from internal factional strife, which finally split the union in 1939. The 1936 convention witnessed a long debate over whether Communists should be expelled from the union, and over the location of authority to call and settle strikes. The convention voted not to discriminate against members because

of their political beliefs. Beginning in 1938, however, there appeared in the journal an increasing number of statements against Communist party members or sympathizers, and President Martin began to make increasing use of his power to suspend international and local officers. A split in the union was narrowly averted in 1938 by the intervention of conciliators from CIO headquarters. The breach finally occurred in 1939 when President Martin suspended fifteen of the twenty-four members of the executive board, who then met and suspended President Martin. The 1939 convention of the anti-Martin faction, which included a large majority of the union's membership and was recognized by the CIO, elected R. J. Thomas to the presidency. Martin called a rival convention, and shortly afterward led his faction back into the AFL. Control of the *United Automobile Worker* passed to the anti-Martin group, though Martin continued for some time to publish a rival journal under the same title. The journal, which for several years had presented Martin's side of the controversy, was now filled with the arguments and accusations of his opponents.

During Martin's presidency, one of his chief complaints against the opposing faction was its persistence in calling unauthorized strikes in violation of union contracts. The executive board supported him in this position, and legislation was passed on several occasions to penalize instigators of such strikes. The administration of President Thomas has been equally firm in its opposition to outlaw strikes. Evidence that the union has not completely succeeded in solving this problem is provided by the calling of an outlaw strike in the North American Aircraft plant in 1941, which the officers claimed was inspired by an "outside political group."

Factional differences have been evident also in the union's position on international affairs. After the outbreak of war in Europe in 1939, material in the publications gave evidence of a general sentiment in favor of the United States remaining at peace, though there was disagreement concerning the reasons for this policy. In 1940, however, a resolution condemning Germany, Russia, Italy, and Japan was carried by a large majority, and the 1941 issues of the *United Automobile Worker* contained many disparaging references to the Hitler-Stalin pact. After the initiation of the national defense program, the passage of the Selective Service Act, and the beginning of the lend-lease program, the journal showed increasing concern over the displacement of workers due to conversion of the automobile industry to war production, began to emphasize the contribution which labor could make toward defense planning, and protested against the drive to amend the National Labor Relations Act.

Although the automobile workers have continually expressed their belief in a united labor movement, they have taken the position that the AFL-CIO cleavage can be ended only when the AFL is willing to abandon its policy of fostering craft unions in the mass production industries. The Machinists' union is the principal rival of the UAW, but the union has also come into conflict with the Pattern Makers and other craft groups. Jurisdictional struggles with these unions, and conflicts with company and independent unions, have been frequently reported in the union journal.

AUTOMOBILE, AIRCRAFT AND VEHICLE WORKERS OF AMERICA, UNITED

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1891 Organized as Carriage and Wagon Workers' International Union of North America. Affiliated with AFL.
- 1911 Changed name to Carriage, Wagon and Automobile Workers' International Union of North America.
- 1918 Suspended by AFL. Reorganized as United Automobile, Aircraft and Vehicle Workers of America.
- 1930? Disbanded.

II. PUBLICATIONS

- 1. Proceedings.
1st-3rd, 1891-1893; 5th, 1896; 6th, 1903; 7th, 1904; 8th, 1906; 9th-11th bien., 1911-1915; 1918; 1920
- 2. Constitutions.
ann. 1891-1893; 1899; 1903; 1906; 1908; bien. 1911-1915; 1918; 1926
- 3. Journal.
Published as: (Washington; Cleveland; Buffalo; Detroit)
1899-May 1908: *Carriage and Wagon Workers' Journal*
1912-1915: *Official Journal of the* . . .
Feb-Apr 1917?: *The Spark Plug*
1919-1924?: *The Auto Worker*

AUTOMOBILE WORKERS OF AMERICA, INTERNATIONAL UNITED

Address: 82 W. Montcalm St., Detroit

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1939 Seceding faction of United Automobile Workers of America set up separate union with same name. Affiliated with AFL. CIO faction of union changed name in 1941 to United Automobile, Aircraft and Agricultural Implement Workers of America (*q. v.*).

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
spec., Mar 1939
2. Journal.
Published as: (Detroit)
Feb-Jun 3, 1939?: *The Rank and File Auto-Worker*
Sep 19, 1939-1941+: *AFL Auto Worker*

BLACKSMITHS, DROP FORGERS AND HELPERS, INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF

Address: 2922 Washington Blvd., Chicago

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1889 Organized as International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths.
 1897 Affiliated with AFL.
 1903 Absorbed AFL federal locals of blacksmiths and helpers and changed name to International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and Helpers.
 1919 Amalgamated with Brotherhood of Drop Forgers, Die Sinkers, and Trimming Die Makers under present name.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
7th-14th bien., 1899-1913; 15th, 1919; 16th, 1927 (13th, 14th
with journal)
2. Reports.
President: 1915

3. Constitutions.
bien. 1897-1913; 1919; ann. 1927-1928
4. Journal.
Published as: (Chicago)
1900-Jun 1920: *The Blacksmiths Journal*
Jul 1920: . . . *Journal*
Aug 1920-Jul 1924: . . . *Monthly Journal*
Aug/Sep 1924-1929: . . . *Bi-monthly Journal* (Ceased publication)

BOILER MAKERS, IRON SHIP BUILDERS AND HELPERS OF AMERICA, INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF

Address: Suite 522, Brotherhood Block, Kansas City, Kan.

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1881 Organized as National Boilermakers' and Helpers' Protective and Benevolent Union.
- 1884 Changed name to International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers and Iron Ship Builders' Protective and Benevolent Union of the United States and Canada.
- 1887 Affiliated with AFL as International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers.
- 1893 Withdrew from AFL. Merged with National Brotherhood of Boiler Makers under name of Brotherhood of Boiler Makers and Iron Ship Builders of America.
- 1896 Reaffiliated with AFL.
- 1906 Changed name to International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America.
- 1931 Changed name to International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders, Welders and Helpers of America.
- 1938 Adopted present name.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
11th-13th ann., 1891-1893; after merger: 3rd-5th ann., 1900-1902; 6th-11th bien., 1904-1914; 13th-15th quin., 1920-1930; 16th, 1937 (3rd-9th *with journal*)
2. Constitutions.
1892; 1896; 1898; bien. 1899-1903; bien. 1906-1914; 1917; quin. 1920-1935; 1937

3. Journal.

Published as: (Kansas City, Kan.)

1888?-1912: *The Journal of the . . .*1913-1918: *The Boiler Makers' Journal*1919-Feb 1931: *The Boiler Makers and Iron Ship Builders' Journal*Mar 1931-1941+ : *The Boiler Makers' Journal*

BRASS AND COMPOSITION METAL WORKERS, POLISHERS, AND BUFFERS, UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1890 Organized as International Brotherhood of Brass Workers.
- 1892 Affiliated with AFL as United Brotherhood of Brass Workers.
- 1895 Merged with Trades Assembly No. 252, Knights of Labor and changed name to United Brotherhood of Brass and Composition Metal Workers, Polishers and Buffers.
- 1896 Merged with Metal Polishers, Buffers and Platers' International Union of North America (*q. v.*) to form the Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers, and Brass Workers' Union of North America.

II. PUBLICATIONS

- 1. Constitutions.
1890; 1892; 1893
- 2. Journal.
Published as: (St. Louis)
1891-May? 1896: *The Brass Worker*

CARMEN OF AMERICA, BROTHERHOOD OF RAILWAY

Address: 400-412 Carmen's Bldg., 107 W. Linwood Blvd.,
Kansas City, Mo.

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1890 Organized as result of merger of Brotherhood of Railway Car Repairers; Carmen's Mutual Aid Association; Car Inspectors, Repairers and Oilers' Protective Association; and Brotherhood of Railway Carmen of Canada.
- 1910 Affiliated with AFL.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
[1st-3rd ann., 1890-1892; 4th, 1894; 5th, 1896; 6th 1899];
7th-11th bien., 1901-1909; 12th-16th quad., 1913-1929; 17th,
1935 (7th, 8th, 16th *with* journal)
2. Constitutions.
1892; 1899; bien. 1901-1909; quad. 1913-1929; 1935
3. Journal.
Published as: (Kansas City, Mo.)
1895-1941 + : *Railway Carmen's Journal*
(Suspended Jan-Jun 1899.)

CHAINMAKERS' NATIONAL UNION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1900 Organized. Affiliated with AFL.
1911 Withdraw from AFL.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
[1900]; 5th, 1904; 7th, 1907; 8th, 1908
2. Constitutions.
1900; ann. 1902-1905; 1907; 1910
3. Journal.
Published as: (Trenton)
1902?: *The Chainmaker*

CORE MAKERS' INTERNATIONAL UNION OF AMERICA

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1896 Organized. Affiliated with AFL.
1903 Absorbed by Iron Molders' Union of North America (*q. v.*).

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
4th, 1902 (*with* journal)
2. Constitutions.
bien. 1896-1902
3. Journal.
Published as: (Cleveland; Cincinnati)
1897?-1903: *The Core Makers' Journal* (Ceased publication)

DIE CASTING WORKERS, NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1934 Organized.
1937 Affiliated with CIO.
1942 Absorbed by International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers (*q. v.*).

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
7th, 1940
2. Reports.
Officers: 1940
3. Constitutions.
1937; 1939; 1940
4. Journal.
Published as: (Toledo, O.)
1938-1941+ : *CIO News. Die Casters Edition* (Ceased publication Mar 30, 1942)

ELECTRICAL, RADIO AND MACHINE WORKERS OF AMERICA, UNITED

Address: 261 Fifth Ave., New York

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1936 Organized by seceding faction of International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (*q. v.*) under name of United Electrical and Radio Workers of America. Affiliated with CIO.
1937 Adopted present name.

II. PUBLICATIONS
(Code Number: E4)

1. Proceedings.
1st-3rd ann., 1936-1938; 5th, 1939; 6th, 1940; [7th, 1941]
2. Reports.
President: 1938
Vice-Presidents: 1938
Secretary-Treasurer: 1938
Organizers: 1938

3. Constitutions.

1936 (3 edns.); ann. 1937-1939

4. Journal.

Published as: (Philadelphia)

1936-Nov 6, 1937: *People's Press U. E. & R. W. Edition*Nov 13, 1937-1938: *People's Press U. E. R. & M. W. Edition*1939-1941+: *U. E. News. National Edition*

Editors:

1936-1938: Frank L. Palmer

1939-1941+: Julius Emspak

III. CRITIQUE OF PUBLICATIONS

The United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers Union was formed early in 1936 by a combination of locals seceding from the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and independent local unions in the electrical industry, and affiliated immediately with the CIO. The union held two conventions in 1936, but the record of only one of these is available. The proceedings of this convention and that of 1937 were mimeographed, and were not verbatim accounts. Verbatim reports of the conventions have been published from 1938 to date.

A large part of the union's convention proceedings consists of speeches from visiting labor leaders. Discussion of resolutions and constitutional amendments is usually brief. The principal international officers presented individual reports until 1939. The president's report summarized the union's progress in organization and collective bargaining, in addition to discussing union philosophy, objectives, and tactics. The secretary-treasurer's report contained a financial statement, membership statistics, a list of locals chartered, and a tabulation of strikes. The proceedings for 1938 also contained reports from vice-presidents and organizers which summarized developments in the union at the local level. Beginning in 1939 the officers presented a joint report which emphasized collective bargaining activities, organizing progress, and trends in labor and social legislation. Much of this report is based on work by the research department, which conducts extensive economic studies for the use of union officers in collective bargaining and in argument before government agencies. Officers' reports to conventions have sometimes been printed in the union journal.

From November 1936 through 1938 the union used an edition of the *People's Press* as its official journal. Beginning in November 1937, official union opinion was expressed directly in a column

headed "National Office Says." The volume of direct news of the international continued to increase through 1938, and in the following year the union began its own publication, the *U. E. News*.

The *U. E. News*, like its predecessor, is a weekly tabloid, which presents dramatic accounts of the union's struggles and achievements, including brief but vivid descriptions of strikes in which the union is engaged. Provisions contained in union contracts are printed, and the complete text of important agreements is given. The contracts signed with General Electric in 1937 and Westinghouse in 1941 were regarded as outstanding achievements, since it was felt that the example of these leaders in the industry would be followed by the smaller companies. The organization of General Electric was not completed in 1937, however, and the union found it necessary to carry on a plant by plant campaign throughout 1938 before a national agreement was finally signed. By 1940 the UEW held contracts in 424 plants. News stories in the journal described the events leading up to these contracts, emphasizing the union's organizing tactics, its rivalry with AFL craft unions, and the results of National Labor Relations Board elections. Although the UEW's principal rival has been the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, its broad jurisdictional claims have invaded the territories of nearly a score of crafts. The UEW has frequently accused AFL internationals of collusive agreements with employers, and some of these cases have been referred to the NLRB for adjudication.

The union early developed an educational program, which has been centered in the locals, with the international providing advice on how local needs can best be met. The journal carries articles by the secretary-treasurer and by organizers dealing with the conduct of local meetings, organizing methods, the importance of prompt payment of dues, and similar subjects. Reports from locals and letters from members, to which one page of the journal is devoted, indicate the methods used to interest the membership in active participation in union affairs.

Editorials usually stress national and international events, and attempt to guide membership opinion and action on legislative matters. Information regarding pending legislation is obtained from the legislative committee of the CIO, the *Congressional Record*, and analysis of particular bills. Effort is then concentrated on a few outstanding measures by means of telegrams, letters, appearance at committee hearings, and interviews with congressmen. In addition, a *Legislative Bulletin* is published in an attempt to mobilize and coordinate the political influence of the local unions.

The union has created a women's auxiliary in the belief that the wives of members must also be educated in the philosophy of the trade union movement. The increase in the proportion of women workers in the industry as a result of the national defense program has been met by determined efforts to secure "equal pay for equal work." As the defense program got under way, the need for labor participation in defense planning and the importance of preventing anti-labor legislation were given much space in the *U. E. News*. The UEW has been generally successful in securing agreements providing seniority rights and other guarantees of job security for members drafted into the armed services or forced to change jobs because of the exigencies of war production.

Factional conflict has existed in the union since its formation, but did not become a major issue until 1940. President James Carey was opposed to communism, though he refused to exclude communists from the union on the ground that such action would be undemocratic and in violation of the union constitution. Throughout 1940 the president's column in the *U. E. News* condemned persons who based their opinions about the participation of the United States in World War II on their attitude toward the Soviet Union. The official position of the union at this time was opposed to war, and the 1940 convention voted disapproval of peacetime conscription. By 1941, a strong anti-Carey sentiment was evident in letters from members and in Carey's answers to criticisms. Carey was accused of "red-baiting" and felt it necessary to defend his continuing opposition to war after the attack on the Soviet Union. The conflict came to a head when Carey held that the union constitution would permit locals to pass laws excluding communists from office. At the 1941 convention, Carey was defeated by Albert Fitzgerald for the presidency of the union.

FARM EQUIPMENT AND METAL WORKERS OF AMERICA, UNITED

Address: 188 W. Randolph St., Chicago

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1938 Organized as Farm Equipment Workers Organizing Committee by seceding faction of Steel Workers Organizing Committee (*q. v.*).
- 1942 Affiliated with CIO as international union under present name.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Journal.

Published as: (Chicago)

Oct 15-Nov 26, 1938: *People's Press. Farm Implement Edition* (Ceased publication)

1938-1941+: *CIO News. Farm Equipment Workers Edition.*

FIREMEN AND OILERS, INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF

Address: 330 S. Wells St., Chicago

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1898 Organized as International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen.
- 1899 Affiliated with AFL.
- 1917 Changed name to International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen and Oilers.
- 1943? Adopted present name.

II. PUBLICATIONS

- 1. Proceedings.
5th, 1902; 13th-15th bien., 1915-1919 (13th-15th *with* journal)
- 2. Constitutions.
1902; 1915; 1919; 1924
- 3. Journal.
Published as: (Kansas City, Mo.; Toledo, O.; Omaha; Pittsburgh)
Apr 1899-May 1904: . . . *Journal*
Jun 1904?-Jul 1919: *Stationary Firemen's Journal*
Sep 1919-Oct 1929: *Firemen and Oilers' Journal*
Oct 1934-1937?: . . . *Journal*
(Suspended Aug 1922-1923; Nov 1929-Sep 1934. Probably ceased publication 1937.)

FOUNDRY EMPLOYEES, INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1904 Organized by group of AFL federal locals. Affiliated with AFL.
- 1940 Expelled from AFL. Membership subsequently absorbed by International Molders and Foundry Workers Union of North America (*q. v.*).

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
2nd, 1906; 3rd-5th trien., 1914-1920; spec., 1921; 6th, 1924; 7th, 1927; 10th, 1937
2. Constitutions.
1904; 1906; 1916; 1917; ann. 1919-1921; 1924; 1927; 1934; 1937

HORSESHOERS OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA, INTERNATIONAL UNION OF JOURNEYMEN

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1874 Organized as Journeymen Horseshoers' National Union of the United States.
- 1892 Changed name to International Union of Journeymen Horseshoers of the United States and Canada.
- 1893 Affiliated with AFL.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
1st-4th ann., 1874-1877; 6th, 1880; 8th, 1882; 12th, 1886; 16th, 1890; 18th, 1892; 19th, 1893; 21st, 1895; 23rd-25th ann., 1898-1900; 26th-35th bien., 1902-1920; 36th-38th bien., 1923-1927 (1st-4th, 6th, 8th, 25th-38th *with* journal; 1st-4th, 6th, 8th *with* journal for 1902-1903)
2. Constitutions.
ann. 1875-1877; 1880; bien. 1908-1920; 1923 (1875-1877; 1880 *with* journal for 1902-1903)
3. Journal.
Published as: (Denver; Cincinnati)
1899-1928: International Horseshoers' Monthly Magazine
(Ceased publication)

IRON AND STEEL ROLL HANDS, NATIONAL UNION OF THE UNITED STATES OF

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1873 Organized.
1876 Merged with other unions to form National Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers (*q. v.*).

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
1874; 1876
2. Constitutions.
1874

IRON, STEEL AND TIN WORKERS, AMALGAMATED ASSOCIATION OF

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1876 Organized as National Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers as result of merger of United Sons of Vulcan (*q. v.*); Associated Brotherhood of Iron and Steel Heaters, Rollers and Roughers; and National Union of the United States of Iron and Steel Roll Hands (*q. v.*).
- 1877 Changed name to National Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers.
1878. Changed name to National Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers.
- 1881 Participated in formation of AFL.
- 1883 Withdrew from AFL.
- 1887 Reaffiliated with AFL.
- 1897 Changed name to National Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers.
- 1908 Dropped "National" from name.
- 1913 Merged with International Tin Plate Workers Protective Association (*q. v.*).
- 1936 Gave Steel Workers Organizing Committee (*q. v.*) jurisdiction over all unorganized workers in iron and steel industry. Suspended by AFL.
- 1938 Expelled by AFL.
- 1942 Merged with United Steelworkers of America (*q. v.*)

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
1st-20th ann., 1876-1895; 22nd, 1897; 24th, 1899; 25th, 1900;
27th-41st ann., 1902-1916; 43rd-64th ann., 1918-1939; 66th
ann., 1941
2. Constitutions.
ann. 1876-1882; ann. 1884-1893; 1896; ann. 1898-1941
3. Journal.
Published as: (Pittsburgh)
Oct 1899-1941+ : *The Amalgamated Journal* (Ceased publi-
cation Aug 27, 1942)

KNIFE GRINDERS' NATIONAL UNION OF THE UNITED STATES, TABLE

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1885 Organized as Table Knife Grinders' Protective Union of the
United States.
- 1889 Changed name to Table Knife Grinders' National Union of
the United States. Affiliated with AFL.
- 1911 Suspended by AFL.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
5th, 1890; 6th, 1891; 10th, 1895; 11th, 1896; 15th-22nd ann.,
1900-1907
2. Constitutions.
1888; 1890; 1893; 1896; 1898; 1902

MACHINISTS, INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF

Address: 9th and Mt. Vernon Pl., N. W., Washington

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1888 Organized as United Machinists and Mechanical Engineers
of America.
- 1889 Changed name to National Association of Machinists.
- 1891 Changed name to International Association of Machinists.

- 1895 Absorbed International Machinists Union of America; and Machinery Constructors National District. Affiliated with AFL.
- 1904 Merged with International Association of Allied Metal Mechanics (*q. v.*)
- 1909 Expelled several New York City lodges which subsequently organized Brotherhood of Machinists (*q. v.*)
- 1914 Affiliated with International Metal Workers Federation.
- 1920 Absorbed United States and Canadian membership of Amalgamated Society of Engineers, a British union.
- 1927 Absorbed Amalgamated Metal Workers of America.
- 1936 Merged with Federation of Metal and Allied Mechanics Union; Machine Tool and Foundry Workers Union; and Transport Workers Union of America (*q. v.*).
- 1937 Transport Workers Union and Federation of Metal and Allied Mechanics Union withdrew and affiliated with CIO.

II. PUBLICATIONS (Code Number: M5)

1. Proceedings.
[1st-4th ann., 1889-1892]; 5th-14th bien., 1893-1911; 15th-18th quad., 1916-1928; 19th, 1936; 20th, 1940 (7th-10th *with journal*)
2. Reports.
President: 1889; 1893; 1895; ann. 1901-1915; ann. 1918-1920; 1924 (1893, 1895 *with proceedings* but paged separately; all others except 1902 *with journal*; 1889 *with journal* for 1915)
Vice-Presidents: 1893; 1902; bien. 1903-1911 (1893 *with proceedings* but paged separately; 1902 *with President's report*; 1903-1911 *with journal*)
Secretary-Treasurer: 1893; 1895; ann. 1901-1905; bien. 1907-1911; 1912; 1916; 1919; 1920; 1924 (1893, 1895 *with proceedings* but paged separately; all others except 1902 *with journal*)
Executive Board: 1893; bien. 1903-1911; 1922 (1893 *with proceedings* but paged separately; others *with journal*)
Editor: bien. 1901-1911; quad. 1916-1924 (*with journal*)
3. Constitutions.
ann. 1888-1893; bien. 1895-1915; ann. 1916-1918; 1921; 1924; 1925; ann. 1927-1929; bien. 1933-1937; 1940
4. Journal.
Published as: (Chicago; Washington)
Feb 1889-May 1891: *Journal of the ...*
Jun 1891-1902: *Monthly Journal of the ...*
1903-1941+: *Machinists Monthly Journal*

Editors:

Feb 1889-Jun 1890: Thomas W. Talbot

Jul 1890-1892?: James J. Creamer

1892?-Jul 1893: John O'Day

Aug 1893-Jun 1895: James J. Creamer

Jul 1895-Jun 1915: D. Douglas Wilson

Jul-Sep 1915: Arthur E. Holder

Oct 1915-1941+: Fred Hewitt

III. CRITIQUE OF PUBLICATIONS

When the journal of the United Machinists and Mechanical Engineers began publication in February 1889, it was a four-page pamphlet, designed primarily to serve the "boomer" or traveling machinist who was most numerous in the ranks of the union at that time. For him the journal printed addresses of lodges (locals) and their officers, reports on job opportunities and union organization in various localities, and news about the whereabouts of other members.

By 1892 the journal, now the organ of an international union, had been expanded to a thirty-page publication but its contents still bore the mark of its early function. A complete directory of lodges with officers' addresses and time and place of meetings comprised almost a third of each issue. The remainder was made up of notices regarding the location and status of strikes, notes on "trouble" areas, lists of expelled and transferred members, and reports from members and organizers telling of trade activity, job opportunities, working conditions, and union organization in their localities. Only one or two editorials were included in each issue.

The size of the journal had increased to fifty pages by 1895. More space was now given over to reprinted material, mainly of a technical nature, but also pertaining to politics and problems of the labor movement as a whole. More editorials were published, many of them on general political issues. Also indicative of a widening of interests was a change in the nature of correspondence from members and officers. Though reports of conditions in particular localities predominated, debates concerning tariffs, socialism, single tax, industrial *versus* craft unionism, and admission of Negroes to IAM membership were carried on in the correspondence columns. These discussions became so heated that in May 1894 the editor announced that letters and articles were being rejected "on account of the personal or sectional feeling displayed in them."

With the election of Douglas Wilson to the editorship in July 1895, the journal entered a new phase which was to last for twenty

years. Wilson was obviously less interested in the practical and technical aspects of unionism than in its theoretical and political implications. A Socialist himself, he devoted a large portion of each issue to articles on socialism, Marxism, the class struggle, labor solidarity, and political action, as well as to discussions of anarchism, single tax, monetary matters, social and labor legislation, consumers' and producers' cooperation, and industrial unionism. In a greatly expanded editorial section he consistently advocated the entrance of unions into the political field, preferably through formation of a labor party, but in any case, through election of workingmen to state and national legislatures. He also championed government ownership of railroads, public utilities, mines, and monopolies. Many editorials and articles were devoted to reports on foreign and international political and labor movements.

The economic side of unionism, however, was by no means neglected. In occasional editorials and articles and frequently in organizers' reports, detailed accounts of strikes, jurisdictional disputes, and nine and eight-hour campaigns were presented. Complete texts of collective agreements negotiated by the IAM were published monthly. Under Wilson's direction the size of the journal was increased to about one hundred pages per issue. Correspondence from members and officers and reports from lodges were curtailed drastically, members instead submitting formal articles on various subjects, and organizers and business agents submitting regular monthly reports. These reports were gradually given more space and after 1905 comprised about one-fifth of each issue. The notices of strikes and "unfair" shops, the lists of scabs, expulsions, fines, transfers, and the memoranda to local secretaries which were so prominent in earlier years were compressed into a few pages. The directory of lodges remained, however, and several departments of technical and scientific information and a women's section devoted to discussion of "domestic economy, ethics, and culture" were added.

With the death of Wilson in 1915 and the election of Fred Hewitt as editor, the emphasis in the journal's subject matter shifted definitely toward the economic aspects of unionism. Articles on political action and cooperation continued to appear occasionally, but the emphasis was on strikes, organizing plans and techniques, shortening hours, raising wages, and increasing the IAM's efficiency and economic strength. Whereas in Wilson's time at least one editorial each month had ended "Elect a workingman to political office," the journal's slogan now became "Get a new member for organized labor."

Beginning in 1917 the space formerly taken up by members' and officers' articles, editorials, and reports of organizers and business agents was given over to material reprinted from other sources, chiefly the *American Federationist*, releases of war committees and agencies, and decisions of war wage commissions and labor boards. This trend was intensified throughout the twenties and thirties. Articles reprinted from *Labor* and other union journals, releases from non-union organizations, and decisions of the various railroad labor boards comprised the bulk of each issue. In most issues the only original material consisted of two or three articles by officers and members, two pages of editorials, a page of correspondence, four to eight pages of organizers' and business agents' reports, and the women's section. Regular publication of texts of collective agreements was discontinued in 1920. In 1922 the directory of locals was replaced by a directory of organizers and business agents. The number of pages was cut to about fifty per issue in 1926, fell still lower in the depression years, and rose again to about seventy in the late thirties. The number of articles by members and officers increased somewhat after 1935.

The governmental structure of the International Association of Machinists has always been such as to make its journal a sounding board of opinion for officers and members. Since all officers are elected, all constitutional amendments decided, and many policy issues determined by referendum vote of the members, most of the problems arising in the IAM have been aired in the journal.

One of the issues discussed most extensively in the journal was that of industrial *versus* craft unionism. In 1900 and 1901 the IAM debated amalgamation *versus* federation of metal trades workers and took the lead in 1902 in forming the National Metal Trades Federation, which subsequently became the Metal Trades Department of the AFL. In 1911 the editor and some of the other officers came out strongly in favor of a merger of metal trades unions. In 1914 a conference of business agents and international officers instructed the president to begin negotiations with other metal trades unions with a view to amalgamation. The matter rested there during the war period and when discussion was revived in 1919, the proposed merger encountered strong opposition from many members and officers, the example of the IWW and the hostility of the other metal trades unions being regarded as deterrents to the plan. The question was reopened occasionally during the twenties, but when the formation of the CIO thrust the issue into prominence in 1935, the IAM journal reflected solid opposition to industrial unionism.

Another issue was the role which the IAM should play in the political field. From 1895 to 1915, the period in which the IAM debated and generally endorsed socialism, there were many discussions in the journal of whether unions should form, or affiliate with, or endorse the candidates of a labor party. The AFL's policy of supporting labor's friends and defeating its enemies was frequently attacked. In 1916, however, the new editor announced that thereafter the policy of the journal would be to advocate support of "candidates known to be friendly to labor's interest" regardless of party affiliation. Much attention was given in the journal to the election of candidates throughout the twenties and thirties, as well as to the passage of labor and social legislation. Since a large number of machinists were employed in arsenals, navy yards, and other government establishments, particular attention was given to improving the conditions of these workers through legislation.

As one of the major non-operating railroad unions, the IAM devoted much space in its journal to railroad matters. Detailed accounts of all the great railroad strikes from 1890 on were given. The movement for federation of railroad shop crafts during 1910-1920, the struggle for railroad labor relations and retirement legislation in the twenties, and the development of union-management cooperation plans on the railroads can be followed in the journal.

Dual unionism and jurisdictional disputes have always been significant problems for the IAM and have received extensive treatment in its journal. Records of conflict with, and eventual absorption of, the International Machinists Union, the Allied Metal Mechanics, the Brotherhood of Machinists, the Amalgamated Metal Workers, and the Amalgamated Society of Engineers appeared in the journal during the years from 1890 to 1920. The major jurisdictional disputes were those with the Typographical Union (in the nineties), the Amalgamated Society of Engineers (1890-1920), and the Carpenters, Plumbers, and Street Car Employees (in the twenties and thirties). Its position in the automobile, steel, machinery manufacturing, and aircraft industries brought the IAM into sharp controversy with CIO unions in these industries, and the journal after 1935 furnished much information concerning these disputes.

Elimination of piecework and shortening of the working day and week have been particular objectives of the Machinists. The early struggle to abolish piecework systems (1890-1905) and later campaigns to prevent their reintroduction were described in the journal. In its drive to shorten hours, the IAM waged two nationwide strikes, one in 1901 for the nine-hour day, the other in 1911

for the eight-hour day, both of which were reported in detail. In 1927 and 1928, the Machinists advocated a five-day, forty-hour week as a remedy for technological and cyclical unemployment. This was transformed into a thirty-hour week program in 1934.

Complete tabulations of the voting on election of officers and on other referendum issues have been published in the journal since the early nineties.

The proceedings of IAM conventions and the reports of officers provide much information on the union's history, policies, and problems. The convention proceedings, which were published verbatim after 1916, cover much the same issues as does the journal; but because the formulation of amendments to the constitution was the main business of each convention, emphasis in the proceedings was predominantly on matters of union organization and administration. The debates on proposed constitutional changes contained indications of members' attitudes concerning dues and assessments, initiation fees, officers' salaries, election procedures and use of the referendum, membership requirements, apprenticeship rules, jurisdictional claims, benefit plans, and strike financing. In addition, the proceedings contained texts of resolutions, speeches of officers and guests, and in many cases, detailed reports and discussions of disciplinary actions taken by international officers against members and locals.

In every convention year from 1889 to 1928, each of the international officers of the IAM submitted a report to the membership. In addition, the president and secretary-treasurer submitted annual reports between conventions. The president's report was a description and analysis, in topical form, of events and issues currently important to the union. The vice-presidents' reports were detailed, chronological accounts of their organizing and executive activities. The executive board reported, in docket form, on matters taken up and disposed of since its last report. The secretary-treasurer's report consisted principally of financial statements. The editor reported on the management of the journal and made recommendations for changes in it. Beginning in 1928 the subject matter of these separate reports was amalgamated into a single report which was submitted and signed by all the officers.

MACHINISTS AND BLACKSMITHS OF NORTH AMERICA, INTERNATIONAL

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1859 Organized as Grand Union of Machinists and Blacksmiths of North America. Changed name to National Union of Machinists and Blacksmiths of North America.
- 1861 Changed name to International Machinists and Blacksmiths of North America.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
1860; 1861; [1869; 1870; 1874]
2. Journal.
Published as: (Cleveland)
1863?-1872: *Machinists and Blacksmiths International Journal*
1873?-1875?: *Machinists and Blacksmiths' Monthly Journal*

MARINE AND SHIPBUILDING WORKERS OF AMERICA, INDUSTRIAL UNION OF

Address: 534 Cooper St., Camden, N. J.

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1933 Organized.
- 1936 Affiliated with CIO.

II. PUBLICATIONS (Code Number: M4)

1. Proceedings.
1st, 1934; 2nd-7th, ann., 1936-1941 (1st-5th mimeographed)
2. Reports.
Officers: ann. 1937-1941
3. Constitutions.
1937; 1940
4. Journal.
Published as: (Camden, N. J.)
1936-1941+: *The Shipyard Worker*
Editor:
Aug 1936-1941+: Samuel J. Kramer

III. CRITIQUE OF PUBLICATIONS

During the depression years after 1929 the shipbuilding industry suffered a great curtailment of production, and many shipyard workers faced unemployment or employment at sharply reduced wages. When in 1932 wages in the Camden, New Jersey, yard of the New York Shipbuilding Corporation were cut by fifteen per cent, the workers began to talk of organization. Following a number of ill-timed and ineffective strikes throughout the industry in the summer of 1933, the Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers of America was organized in October 1933 as an independent industrial union claiming jurisdiction over all shipyard workers. The Camden local was the nucleus of the new organization. The union soon began to receive letters from various groups asking to be organized, and its officers believed that shipyard workers would voluntarily align themselves with the Marine and Shipbuilding Workers after seeing what organization could accomplish. Because of this belief, the youth of the organization, and its lack of funds, the union undertook very little organizing activity. By 1936, however, it had thirteen locals on two coasts and about 20,000 members.

The decision of the 1936 convention to carry on an intensive organizing campaign, and the affiliation of the union with the CIO in the same year, gave great impetus to the growth of the union. The years 1936-1937 were marked by a number of strikes and the loss of some members through secession. The most important strike occurred in New York City as a result of the refusal of several shipyards to negotiate with the union, and involved almost all the New York locals. Ill-timed and poorly planned by the locals, the strike was lost and many of the strikers suffered discrimination in re-employment. To counteract a growing tendency toward spontaneous strikes by locals without proper preparation, the 1937 convention prohibited strikes not authorized by the international officers. Further difficulties for the union arose when the leaders of its Joint Council for Navy Shipyards signed an agreement with the United Federal Workers permitting it to recruit Navy yard workers already members of the Marine and Shipbuilding Workers union. This occurred after the international officers informed the Joint Council that they could not provide it with funds for an organizing campaign. Some members followed these leaders into the United Federal Workers and the international had to appoint new officers to rebuild the depleted Navy yard locals.

From this time on, however, the union showed a continuous growth in membership and bargaining power. The 1938 convention decided to launch an intensive organizing campaign in the Bethlehem Shipbuilding Company, which owned many large shipyards and had followed a strongly anti-union policy. In its campaigns, the union frequently appealed to the National Labor Relations Board to conduct elections or to prevent unfair labor practices. It also enlisted the aid of CIO organizers. By 1941 the union had over 100,000 members, had secured agreements with the largest shipyards on the East Coast and a few on the West Coast, and had begun negotiations with companies in the Great Lakes area. The union's organizing efforts were opposed not only by employers but by AFL craft unions, primarily the Boiler Makers, which conducted rival organizing drives and contested National Labor Relations Board elections. *The Shipyard Worker*, official journal of the Marine and Shipbuilding Workers, frequently accused these unions of attempting to negotiate "freeze-out" or "back door" agreements in collusion with employers in order to forestall CIO organization.

The expansion of shipbuilding activity under the national defense program brought new problems to the union. Early in 1940 articles began to appear in *The Shipyard Worker* demanding adequate housing for shipyard workers. The union in 1941 submitted plans to the Defense Housing Authority for government subsidized housing projects, and finally succeeded in securing the allocation of projects to Camden and Kearney, New Jersey. A further problem was the shortage of skilled workers which developed very early in the defense program. The union insisted on reasonable wages for apprentices and helpers and objected to company policies which placed poorly-paid, unskilled workers in skilled jobs. In 1941 the union cooperated with management groups and government agencies in developing training programs and uniform wage schedules for shipyards in the Atlantic, Pacific, and Gulf coast regions.

The union's activities and problems were fully discussed in its journal, *The Shipyard Worker*, which was published from 1936 to date in newspaper form. Letters, except for occasional communications to the editor, were written up as news articles or placed in special columns of local news. The journal was issued weekly except for the first few issues in 1936, which appeared irregularly, and in July 1938-June 1940, when it was a semi-monthly paper. The journal usually consisted of eight pages, the first three of which contained news of strikes, negotiations, organizing campaigns, and other important events, some local news, and

occasional short items of news of other unions. The fourth and fifth pages contained editorials, feature articles on developments in the union or the shipbuilding industry, regular columns of comment on current events, book reviews, cartoons, an occasional letter to the editor, and articles and comment reprinted from other sources. The sixth and seventh pages consisted of shop notes, social events, auxiliary news, personal items and some local news. The last page included news of international union activities, local news, and continuations from preceding pages. The journal seldom varied from this form. Its central concern was with news of the union, and comment on other current events was confined almost exclusively to the two editorial pages.

Editorials appeared regularly and were usually on specific problems of the union or the industry, although there were occasional editorials on such general labor subjects as alteration of labor standards in wartime, profiteering, racketeers in trade unions, or labor solidarity. A column of original editorial comment, "Workers Should Know," appeared regularly from October 1936 to June 1941. This column frequently discussed class consciousness, the advantages of industrial unionism, the effects of economic change on politics and society, social parasites, and other philosophical subjects. Just as frequently, however, it commented on specific labor problems such as CIO-AFL rivalry, strikes, political action by workers, the Merchant Marine Act of 1936, National Labor Relations Board elections, organizing campaigns of the Shipbuilding Workers, and other union activities. At various times the journal also contained syndicated columns of comment on current events.

The convention proceedings of 1934 to 1938 contained only an outline of the actions taken and a notation of the convention vote on each measure. The proceedings were mimeographed until the 1940 convention. The 1937 proceedings included a summary of some of the speeches and of the main points made by delegates in discussion. In 1938 some of the discussion of important issues was given in full, and the argument on less important issues was summarized. Verbatim proceedings were published beginning in 1939.

Officers' reports were included in the proceedings until 1937, after which they were published separately. In 1934 and 1936 the secretary's report contained a list of charters issued, membership statistics, a brief statement of organizing work and achievements, a description of important strikes and National Labor Relations Board decisions, and a brief summary of conditions in each local including its strikes, agreements negotiated, number of

members, organizing campaigns, financial condition, factional conflicts, employer policies in the area, Labor Board decisions affecting the local, and similar matters. The secretary's report also contained a statement of the union's receipts and expenditures during the preceding year. From 1936 to 1938 there was included an auditor's report, which presented a classified statement of receipts, disbursements, and the cash balance on hand.

From 1937 to date the officers presented a joint report to the convention. This report contained sections on the national situation and the progress of organized labor, CIO-AFL rivalry, the condition of the shipbuilding industry, membership gains or losses in the union, collective bargaining and its results, agreements negotiated, locals chartered and suspended, National Labor Relations Board cases and elections, organizing campaigns and important strikes, conditions on the Pacific and Gulf coasts, conditions in the Navy yards, relations with the CIO, and the legislative activities of the union. Also included in the joint officers' report from 1937 to 1940 was the secretary-treasurer's annual financial statement showing receipts, disbursements, and the cash balance at the end of the year. From 1939 to date an auditor's report of classified cash receipts and disbursements was also included.

MECHANICS, INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF ALLIED METAL

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1897 Organized as International Union of Bicycle Workers.
- 1898 Changed name to International Union of Bicycle Workers and Allied Mechanics.
- 1899 Changed name to International Association of Allied Metal Mechanics.
- 1904 Merged with International Association of Machinists (*q. v.*).

II. PUBLICATIONS

- 1. Proceedings.

1903

- 2. Constitutions.

1897; 1899

- 3. Journal.

Published as: (Toledo, O.)

Aug 1902-Sep 1904?: *Official Journal of the* . . .

METAL POLISHERS, BUFFERS, PLATERS AND HELPERS INTERNATIONAL UNION

Address: 48 Blymyer Bldg., Cincinnati

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1892 Organized as Metal Polishers, Buffers and Platers' International Union of North America. Affiliated with AFL.
- 1896 Merged with United Brotherhood of Brass and Composition Metal Workers, Polishers, and Buffers (*q. v.*) to form Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Brass Workers' Union of North America.
- 1899 Changed name to Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Brass Workers' International Union of North America.
- 1901 Changed name to Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers, Brass Molders and Brass Workers' International Union of North America.
- 1903 Changed name to Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers, Brass Molders and Brass and Silver Workers' International Union of North America.
- 1905 Dropped "International" from title.
- 1911 Brass Molders absorbed by International Molders' Union of North America (*q. v.*). Dropped "Brass Molders" from name.
- 1917? Absorbed portion of membership of Pocket Knife Blade Grinders and Finishers National Union.
- 1918 Changed name to Metal Polishers' International Union.
- 1935 Adopted present name.

II. PUBLICATIONS

- 1. Proceedings.
 - 1st-4th ann., 1892-1895; after merger: 1st-8th ann., 1896-1903; 9th, 1905; 10th, 1907; 11th, 1911; 12th, 1913; 13th, 1917; 14th, 1919; 15th, 1923; 16th, 1929; 17th, 1935; 18th, 1937; 19th, 1941 (4th-12th, 14th-15th, 17th-19th *with journal*)
- 2. Constitutions.
 - 1896; 1897; 1899; 1900; 1903; ann. 1905-1907; 1912; 1914; 1918; 1919; 1924; 1930; 1935; 1937
- 3. Journal.
 - Published as: (Detroit; Cleveland; New York; Cincinnati)
 - 1890?-1906: *The Journal of the . . .*
 - 1907-Oct 1935: *Our Journal*
 - Nov 1935-1941+: *The Metal Polisher, Buffer and Plater* (Suspended Apr 1921-1923; Feb 1932-Apr 1935.)

METAL WORKERS, BROTHERHOOD OF

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1909 Organized by expelled New York lodges of International Association of Machinists (*q. v.*) under name of Brotherhood of Machinists.
1913 Changed name to Brotherhood of Metal Workers.
1920 Merged with Amalgamated Metal Workers of America.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Constitutions.
1910; 1911; 1913; 1914
2. Journal.
Published as: (New York)
Nov 1910-1912: *Machinists Bulletin*
Jan-Apr 1913: *The Metal Worker*
May 1913-Mar 1915: *Metal Workers Bulletin* (Ceased publication)

METAL WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL UNION OF AMERICA, UNITED

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1900? Organized.
1900 Affiliated with AFL.
1905 Suspended by AFL.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Constitutions.
ann. 1900-1903
2. Journal.
Published as: (Chicago)
1902-1905: *The International Metal Worker* (Ceased publication)

MOLDERS, BROTHERHOOD OF MACHINERY

I. CHRONOLOGY

1883. Organized by seceding faction of Iron Molders' Union of North America (*q. v.*).
 1893 Absorbed by Iron Molders' Union of North America.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
2nd, 1885; 3rd, 1886
2. Constitutions.
1887
3. Journal.
Published as: (Detroit)
1888-1892: *Machinery Molders' Journal*

MOLDERS AND FOUNDRY WORKERS UNION OF NORTH AMERICA, INTERNATIONAL

Address: 530 Walnut St., Cincinnati

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1859 Organized as National Union of Iron Molders.
 1861 Changed name to Iron Molders Union of America.
 1863 Changed name to Iron Molders' International Union.
 1874 Changed name to Iron Molders' Union of North America.
 1881 Participated in formation of AFL.
 1883 Seceding faction of machinery molders organized Brotherhood of Machinery Molders (*q. v.*).
 1893 Absorbed Brotherhood of Machinery Molders.
 1903 Absorbed Coremakers' International Union (*q. v.*).
 1907 Changed name to International Molders' Union of North America.
 1911 Absorbed brass molders formerly belonging to Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers, Brass Molders, Brass and Silver Workers' Union of North America (*q. v.*).
 1940 Absorbed membership of International Brotherhood of Foundry Employees (*q. v.*) and adopted present name.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
1859; 1st, 1860; 2nd, 1861; 4th-9th ann., 1863-1868; 10th-14th bien., 1870-1878; spec., 1879; 16th, 1882; 17th-19th bien., 1886-1890; 20th, 1895; 21st, 1899; 22nd, 1902; 23rd-25th quin. 1907-1917; 26th, 1923; 27th, 1928; 28th, 1934; 29th, 1940 (spec., 1879, 21st-29th *with journal*)
2. Constitutions.
1876; 1878; 1879; 1882; 1886; ann. 1888-1890; 1895; 1898; 1899; 1902; 1907; 1911; 1912; 1917; 1918; 1923; 1926; 1928; 1935
3. Journal.
Published as: (Troy, N. Y.; Philadelphia; Cincinnati)
1864-1865: *Iron Molders' International Journal*
1866-1873?: *The International Journal*
1873?-Jun 1874: *Iron Molders' International Journal*
Jul 1874-1907: *Iron Molders' Journal*
1907-Oct 1940: *International Molders' Journal*
Nov 1940-1941+: *International Molders' and Foundry Workers' Journal*
(NS, 1866)

PATTERN MAKERS' LEAGUE OF NORTH AMERICA

Address: 9th and Mt. Vernon Pl., N. W., Washington

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1887 Organized as Pattern Makers' National League of North America.
1894 Affiliated with AFL.
1898 Adopted present name.

II. PUBLICATIONS

(Code Number: P4)

1. Proceedings.
1887; 1st-5th ann., 1888-1892; 6th-10th bien., 1894-1902; 11th-14th quad., 1905-1917; 15th-18th quad., 1926-1938 (1st, 10th-18th *with journal*; 1st *with journal* for 1912)
2. Constitutions.
1888; 1894/1896; 1896/1898; 1900 (2 edns.); *1902; 1905; *1909; 1911; 1911/1912; 1913; 1917; quad. 1926-1938

3. Journal.

Published as: (Philadelphia; Cincinnati; Washington)

1891-Sep 1893: *Monthly Trade Journal* of . . .

Oct 1894-Nov 1896: *Pattern Makers' Monthly Journal*

Dec 1896-1941+ : *Pattern Makers' Journal*

(Vs. 14, 15 omitted in numbering; vs. 17, 18 repeated in numbering.)

Editors:

Feb-Sep 1893: L. H. Kerberg; E. H. Diehl

Oct 1894-1895: L. R. Thomas; E. H. Diehl

1896-Jun 1902: L. R. Thomas; J. F. McBride

Jul-Sep 1902: James Wilson; J. F. McBride

Oct 1902-Feb 1906: James Wilson; J. B. McNerney

Mar 1906-1934: James Wilson

1935-1941+ : George Q. Lynch

III. CRITIQUE OF PUBLICATIONS

On May 18, 1887, several pattern maker members of the Knights of Labor called a meeting in Philadelphia, at which thirteen delegates, representing nine locals, were present. This meeting laid the foundation for the Pattern Makers' League of North America. The convention of 1891 instructed the general secretary-treasurer to publish a journal, the first issue of which appeared in June 1891.

Although the size of the journal varied from twelve pages at its inception to as many as thirty-two pages in the year 1907-1919, the proportions devoted to original material and reprinted material varied little until 1928. During this period reprinted material usually comprised from one-third to one-half of the journal and consisted mainly of published speeches; newspaper editorials; reports of the conventions of the AFL, the Metal Trades Department of the AFL, and the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress; and articles reprinted from labor periodicals, especially the *American Federationist*.

The editorial section, which was from one to four pages in length, was concerned not only with the activities and policies of the Pattern Makers' League but with the general labor movement. In the latter category appeared discussions of the achievements and philosophy of unionism, national legislation, business cycles, child labor, the progress of strikes in other unions, and the policies of union federations. Topics of special interest to the union on which editorials were written included current strikes, the need for organization, duties of members, business conditions of the trade and their effects on the union, wages and hours, decisions of the

general executive board, the results of conventions, the need for close alliance with kindred trades, dues and assessments, and benefit plans. The union had from the beginning a tool insurance fund and a strike benefit fund. A sick and death benefit fund was established on a national scale in 1898. In 1900 a retirement benefit plan was adopted, but this was abolished in 1913 because the financial burden proved to be too great.

The editorials were mostly brief comments and notes. Longer discussions of a particular topic often appeared elsewhere in the journal, signed by the editor in his capacity as president. James Wilson was editor from 1902 until 1934, and there was not much variation in editorial content during this period. Wilson's editorials, however, gradually came to show more concern with the affairs of the Pattern Makers' League than with the entire labor movement. When George Q. Lynch became president and editor in 1935, he added a column headed "How Things Are Going" to the editorial page. In this column appeared extracts from letters sent in by locals informing him of their activities and commending him on the execution of his official duties.

Reports of the union's organizing activities appeared frequently in the journal, the nature of the reports varying with the method of organization in vogue at the time. In 1902 the locals were divided into districts for organizing purposes, but this system was eliminated in 1909 and organizing work was placed in the hands of the general executive board. In 1930, the district system was again inaugurated to supplement the work done by League organizers and the general officers, and by 1935 organizing was done entirely through districts. Each district elected its own officers from the members of the locals comprising it, and both the League and these locals contributed to the support of the organizing campaigns. During periods in which the district technique of organizing prevailed, reports from the districts appeared frequently in the journal. These reports dealt with the districts' organizing endeavors and achievements, the business transacted at district meetings, working conditions, and the need for organization in the districts. During periods in which League organizers were employed and particularly after 1913, their activities were reported primarily in letters to the journal. These letters were not limited to their work as organizers but discussed such questions as injunctions, business cycles, and other economic and social problems.

Members contributed to the journal chiefly through correspondence, although articles sent in by members appeared occasionally. Until 1928, letters from members comprised less than one-quarter

of the journal. They covered a wide variety of topics, including the policies of the League, strikes, meetings and social events of locals, wages and hours, arbitration, vocational education, and general economic and political issues of interest to the labor movement. Until about 1910 many League members advocated socialism as a means of bettering the workers' condition.

Beginning in 1928 and continuing to the present, the material reprinted from other sources gradually decreased, and correspondence from members greatly increased. An important factor stimulating this increased flow of correspondence seems to have been a series of articles by F. J. Dillion on "The Financing of Organization," which appeared irregularly from 1928 through 1930. Dillion advocated a system of dues based on three per cent of the workers' earnings and many letters were written by members on both sides of this issue. The system was not adopted. A discussion of group insurance was also responsible for an increase in membership interest at about this time. No system of group insurance was adopted, because the majority felt that it was more desirable to extend the union's sick and death benefit plan than to take out group insurance for these purposes with a private company. During this period the journal also contained many suggestions concerning methods of increasing the membership, changes in the method of collecting dues, and changes in the organizing system. Members' letters also displayed interest in extending the use of the "blower" system of ventilation, as the dust and dirt in pattern shops caused many workers to develop tuberculosis.

Coinciding with the increase in correspondence was agitation for a "Free Press Department," in which the editor could not reject letters which expressed dissenting opinions regarding League matters but must publish letters in the order received. The advocates of this policy, however, did not succeed in getting it established.

The membership and financial strength of the union declined after 1929. In April 1931 the journal was reduced from a monthly to a bi-monthly basis, but correspondence continued to be voluminous. When George Lynch became editor in 1934, there was some increase in the amount of reprinted matter in the journal, but it never reached the proportion of the years prior to 1928. Beginning in 1934 and continuing to the present time, various members of the general executive board became frequent contributors to the journal, writing both on the League's progress and activities and on trade union questions in general.

Strikes, which were usually waged in conjunction with other metal trades unions, were reported mainly through letters from

the locals on strike. In 1898 the League inaugurated a nine-hour day movement by calling a strike in Boston, and the movement spread to other cities. By 1901, seventeen locals were on strike for the nine-hour day and most of them succeeded in winning it. The League claimed that this movement was responsible for the formation of the National Metal Trades Association. The strike in Los Angeles for an eight-hour day, which began in 1910, received much attention from the entire union. The strike lasted twenty-one months and resulted in defeat for the metal trades unions, including the Pattern Makers' League.

The League's policy of encouraging affiliation with kindred trades was evidenced by convention resolutions, editorials, and correspondence. As early as the convention of 1891, a resolution was introduced instructing the officers of the League to get in touch with unions of allied trades for the purpose of forming a federation. The result was the formation of machinery trades councils on a local basis. These organizations soon dissolved, however, because of general business depression. In 1894, the League accepted an invitation to participate in a National Federation of Metal Trades, which was abandoned in 1896 because of lack of interest among the affiliated organizations. The League next became a member of the Metal Trades Federation of North America, which was formed at the instigation of Samuel Gompers in 1901. Since the formation of the Metal Trades Department of the AFL in 1908, the League has been an interested member of the organization. Reports of the conventions of the department have appeared in the journal, and a portion of the president's report has been devoted to alliances with kindred trades.

The members have always been interested in technical information. Technical pages appeared irregularly until 1919, and a technical department appeared regularly from 1919 until 1922. This feature was revived in 1924 and continued through 1941.

The initiative and referendum system was adopted at the convention of 1902, and the results of referendum votes together with discussions of the matters voted on have since been published in the journal. In the years in which conventions were to be held, discussions of the advisability of holding a convention that year appeared in the correspondence and editorials. The convention votes were also published.

The proceedings of the conventions held between 1888 and 1900 were very brief, consisting chiefly of reports by the president, the secretary-treasurer, and the general executive board. Verbatim proceedings were not published and one can learn only the results of the delegates' discussions. After 1900, the proceedings con-

tained the addresses delivered by guest speakers, and at each succeeding convention an increasing amount of discussion was recorded, until by 1938 the conventions were reported verbatim.

The president's report dealt with union activities since the last convention and directed the members' attention to problems facing the organization. It included discussions of organizing activities, wages and hours, apprenticeship, the journal, conditions of employment, benefit plans, dues, the constitution, and closer cooperation with other metal trades. After 1909, the president's report contained the financial report, the office of secretary-treasurer having been abolished in the latter part of 1906. The financial report included details of the general account, benefit accounts, the journal account, and a recapitulation showing the balance of all funds considered together. It also included membership statistics. Beginning in 1934 the financial report was certified by a public accountant and gave a very detailed account of assets and liabilities; receipts and disbursements; out of work allowances; totals paid out in sick and death benefit, to whom paid, and the causes of death; and receipt and disbursements for the assistance fund and the tool benefit fund.

The lengthy report of the general executive board covered all matters involving interpretation of union law submitted to it for adjudication, together with the judgments rendered, and also all local matters requiring action by the executive board. These included such things as authorizing strikes, acting on requests for financial assistance, and passing on benefit claims. Appeals from decisions of the board were also recorded. All communications from the individual or local making the appeal, together with the board's replies, appeared in the report.

Apart from officers' reports and speeches of guest speakers, the proceedings consisted mainly of resolutions, committee reports, and convention discussion of them. The discussion covered both matters pertaining solely to the Pattern Makers' League, such as eligibility of representatives, benefit plans, organizing techniques, union administration, economic conditions and their effects on the union; and also issues affecting the entire labor movement, such as the National Recovery Administration program, social security legislation, and the split between the AFL and CIO.

RAILROAD WORKERS, AMERICAN FEDERATION OF

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1901 Organized by group of AFL federal unions under name of International Association of Car Workers. Affiliated with AFL.
- 1911 Withdrew from AFL.
- 1912 Organized American Federation of Railroad Workers as a separate industrial union.
- 1914 Merged with American Federation of Railroad Workers under its name.

II. PUBLICATIONS

- 1. Proceedings.
 - 1st-3rd ann., 1902-1904; spec., 1905; 4th, 1907; 5th-7th bien., 1910-1914; 8th, 1918; 9th, 1921; 10th, 1923
- 2. Constitutions.
 - ann. 1902-1904; 1907; bien. 1910-1914; 1918; 1921; 1923; 1927
- 3. Journal.
 - Published as: (Buffalo; Chicago)
 - 1903-1914: *The Car Worker*
 - 1915-Jan 1930: *The Railroad Worker* (Ceased publication)

SHEET METAL WORKERS INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION

Address: Transportation Bldg., 17th and H Sts., N. W., Washington

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1888 Organized as Tin, Sheet Iron and Cornice Workers' International Association.
- 1889 Affiliated with AFL.
- 1897 Changed name to Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' International Association.
- 1902 Seceding faction organized Sheet Metal Workers' National Alliance.
- 1903 Merged with Sheet Metal Workers' National Alliance to form Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers International Alliance.
- 1907 Absorbed Coppersmiths' International Union.
- 1924 Adopted present name.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
10th, 1901; 11th, 1903; 12th, 1904; 13th-18th bien., 1905-1915; 19th-22nd trien., 1918-1927 (all *with* journal)
2. Constitutions.
bien. 1889-1893; 1896; bien. 1897-1903; 1904; bien. 1905-1915; trien. 1918-1927
3. Journal.
Published as: (Chicago)
1895-Aug 1924: *Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' Journal*
Sep 1924-1933?: *Sheet Metal Workers' Journal*

SONS OF VULCAN, UNITED

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1862? Organized as national union, but functioned principally in Pittsburgh district.
- 1876 Merged with other iron industry unions to form National Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers (*q. v.*).

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
1867-1875 ann. (*with* journal)
2. Constitutions.
1870; 1871; 1874 (1871 *with* journal)
3. Journal.
Published as: (Pittsburgh)
1868-Aug 1875: *The Vulcan Record* (Ceased publication)

STEELWORKERS OF AMERICA, UNITED

Address: 1500 Commonwealth Bldg., Pittsburgh

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1936 Organized by CIO as Steel Workers Organizing Committee.
- 1938 Seceding faction organized Farm Equipment Workers Organizing Committee (*q. v.*).
- 1942 Became an international union, affiliated with CIO, under present name. Merged with Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers (*q. v.*).

II. PUBLICATIONS (Code Number: S3)

1. Proceedings.
1st, 1937; 2nd, 1940
2. Journal.
Published as: (Pittsburgh; Indianapolis)
Aug 1936-1941+ : *Steel Labor*
Editors:
Aug 1936-Oct 1938: Philip Murray
Nov 1938-1941+ : Vincent Sweeney

III. CRITIQUE OF PUBLICATIONS

The unionization of the steel industry was the purpose and achievement of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee. Organized and supported by the CIO, it functioned from June 1936 to May 1942, when it became the United Steelworkers of America. During this period it won from all the large steel companies and several hundred smaller concerns recognition, written contracts, wage increases, improved working conditions, and a secure bargaining position. The campaign was in the hands of a trained and well-financed staff and had the protection of the National Labor Relations Act; but it had to overcome employers' associations, company police, discrimination, labor spies, and employee representation plans, devices of an industry in which all organizing drives in the past fifty years had been broken.

The record of the SWOC has been chronicled in its journal, *Steel Labor*, and in the proceedings of three conventions. *Steel Labor* is an eight-page newspaper. During 1936 and 1937 it was issued twice a month and headlined the drive in the Carnegie-Illinois Corporation; the capture of company unions; the strikes at Jones and Laughlin, Republic, Bethlehem, Youngstown Sheet and Tube, and Inland; and the fight for written contracts. Notices of agreements negotiated with smaller corporations filled its columns. The journal promised equal rights for Negroes in the union, supported Roosevelt and other New Deal candidates, and publicized church approval of the SWOC.

As a monthly after 1937, *Steel Labor* continued to give much space to union victories. Its big stories in 1938 and 1939, however, were LaFollette Civil Liberties Committee findings, National Labor Relations Board decisions in unfair labor practice cases, and Walsh-Healey contract minima; in 1940 and 1941, much space was given to the development of union-management cooperation. Having secured the organization of thousands of workers

and the unionization of hundred of plants, the SWOC added to its program the promotion of plant and industry efficiency by union-management committees.

The committee's officers, in reports to the conventions, summarized all these matters and discussed many other subjects not touched on in *Steel Labor*—the geographic organization of the SWOC, its financial administration, and the work of its research, publicity, and legal departments. They presented and explained the union's policy and objectives with more care and detail than the journal's editorial page. Verbatim discussion of the officers' reports and of resolutions was included in the convention proceedings.

STOVE MOUNTERS' INTERNATIONAL UNION OF NORTH AMERICA

Address: 2806 N. Grand Ave., St. Louis

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1892 Organized as the International Stove Mounters' Union.
- 1894 Affiliated with AFL.
- 1900 Changed name to Stove Mounters' and Steel Range Workers' International Union of North America.
- 1901 Changed name to Stove Mounters', Steel Range Workers' and Pattern Fitters' and Filers' International Union of North America.
- 1902 Adopted present name.
- 1904 Changed name to Stove Mounters' and Steel Range Workers' International Union of North America.
- 1910 Resumed present name.

II. PUBLICATIONS

- 1. Proceedings.
[1st-5th ann., 1893-1897]; 6th, 1898; 7th, 1900; 8th-11th ann., 1901-1904; 12th-16th bien., 1906-1914; 17th-23rd trien., 1917-1935; 25th, 1941
- 2. Constitutions.
1895?; ann. 1900-1904; bien. 1906-1914; trien. 1917-1935; 1937

3. Journal.

Published as: (Quincy, Mass.; Detroit; St. Louis)

Aug 1895- ? : *International Stove Mounters' Journal*? -Aug 1901: *Stove Mounters' and Steel Range Workers' Journal*Sep 1901-Aug 1902: *Stove Range and Metal Pattern Workers' Journal*Sep 1902-Dec 1904: *Stove Mounters' Journal*Jan 1905-1941+ : *Stove Mounters' and Range Workers' Journal*

TIN PLATE WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL PROTECTIVE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

I. CHRONOLOGY

1898 Organized.

1899 Affiliated with AFL.

1913 Merged with Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers (*q. v.*).

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.

2nd, 1900

2. Constitutions.

1899; ann. 1901-1905; 1908; 1911

WELDERS' INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION

I. CHRONOLOGY

1924 Organized as Associated Welders and Helpers.

1930 Merged with National Order of Certified Welders (organized 1926) to form Association of Certified Welders.

1935 Absorbed International Brotherhood of Master Welders and Cutters of America (organized 1934).

1936 Absorbed National Association of Fusion Welders (organized 1934).

1937 Changed name to Welders' International Association.

1941 Merged with United Welders, Cutters, and Helpers of America (*q. v.*) under name of latter.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Constitutions.

quad. 1926-1934; 1936

2. Journal.

Published as: (Los Angeles)

? -1938: *Association News*1938-Nov 1940: *Weldor's Journal*(Dec 1940-Apr 1941 the *Weldor's Journal* was published by the United Weldors, Cutters and Helpers of America (q.v.).)

**WELDORS, CUTTERS AND HELPERS OF AMERICA,
UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF**

Address: 312 Second Ave., Des Moines

I. CHRONOLOGY

1939 Organized as United Weldors, Cutters and Helpers of America.

1941 Merged with Welders' International Association (q.v.).

1942 Merged with National Brotherhood of Weldors and Burners of America (organized 1940); Weldors and Burners Councils of Seattle and Tacoma (organized 1941); and Chicago Weldors' Union (organized 1941) and adopted present name.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Journal.

Published as: (Los Angeles; Rindondo Beach, Cal.)

Dec 1940-Apr 1941: *Weldors' Journal* (Ceased publication)Nov 1941+: *United Weldors News*(The *Weldors Journal* was published prior to Dec 1940 by Welders' International Association (q.v.).)

CHAPTER 8

Glass, Clay, Stone, and Woodworking

BOX MAKERS AND SAWYERS OF AMERICA, UNITED ORDER OF

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1896? Organized.
1912 Membership absorbed by Amalgamated Wood Workers' International Union of America (*q. v.*).

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
4th-7th ann., 1904-1907; 8th, 1909 (all *with* journal)
2. Constitutions.
1898; 1907
3. Journal.
Published as: (Chicago)
Mar 1901-Jan 1910: *Box Makers and Sawyers Official Journal*

BRICK AND CLAY WORKERS OF AMERICA, UNITED

Address: 1550 W. 95th St., Chicago

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1896 Organized as National Brick Makers' Alliance by group of AFL federal locals. Affiliated with AFL.
1901 Absorbed several local groups and changed name to International Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers' Alliance.
1913 Seceding faction organized United Brick and Clay Workers of America.
1917 Unions merged under name of United Brick and Clay Workers of America.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
6th-10th ann., 1904-1908; 12th-14th ann. 1910-1912 (6th-10th, 12th-14th *with* journal). After merger: 7th, 1922; 8th, 1924 (7th *with* journal)

2. Constitutions.

bien. 1899-1903; 1904; 1906; ann. 1907-1912; 1919; 1924;
1928

3. Journal.

Published as: (Blue Island, Ill.; Peoria, Ill.; Chicago)

Sep 1898-Aug 1899?: *The Brickmakers Journal*

? 1901-Feb 1913: *Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers' Journal* (Ceased publication)

1918-1928: *Union Clay Worker* (Ceased publication)

CEMENT, LIME AND GYPSUM WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL UNION, UNITED

Address: 549 W. Randolph St., Chicago

I. CHRONOLOGY

1936 Organized as National Council of United Cement Workers.

1939 Adopted present name.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.

1936; 1st-3rd ann., 1937-1939; 4th, 1941

2. Constitutions.

1936; 1939; 1941

3. Journal.

Published as: (Chicago)

Dec 1937-Sep 1939: *Voice of the Union Cement Worker*

Oct 1939-1941+: *Voice of the Union Cement, Lime,
Gypsum and Allied Worker*

CEMENT WORKERS, AMERICAN BROTHERHOOD OF

I. CHRONOLOGY

1903 Organized. Affiliated with AFL.

1915 Disbanded. Membership absorbed by Operative Plasterers' and Cement Finishers' International Association of the United States and Canada (*q. v.*); and International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America (*q. v.*).

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
1st-9th ann., 1903-1911; 10th bien. 1913
2. Constitutions.
1903; 1904; ann. 1906-1911; 1913

COOPERS' INTERNATIONAL UNION OF NORTH AMERICA

Address: 958 Park Square Bldg., Boston

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1870? Organized as Coopers of North America.
 1881 Participated in formation of AFL.
 1890 After period of dormancy, reorganized under present name.
 1891 Reaffiliated with AFL.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
1871; 1873; 10th-16th bien., 1900-1912; 17th-19th bien., 1915-1919; 20th, 1923; 21st-24th quad., 1925-1937; 25th, 1939; 26th, 1941 (10th-26th with journal)
2. Reports.
President: 1912; 1915
Secretary-Treasurer: 1915
3. Constitutions.
1873; bien. 1890-1894; 1897; 1899; bien. 1900-1912; bien. 1915-1919; 1923; 1925; 1933; 1937; 1939
4. Journal.
Published as: (Cleveland; Kansas City, Mo.; Boston)
 Jul 1870-Jun 1875: *Coopers' Journal* (Ceased publication)
 1890?-1941+: *The Coopers' International Journal*
 (V. 27 repeated in numbering; v. 47, nos. 10-12 marked v. 48; v. 48 marked v. 27.)

FURNITURE WORKERS OF AMERICA, UNITED

Address: 261 Fifth Ave., New York

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1937 Organized by seceding faction of Upholsterers', Furniture, Carpet, Linoleum and Awning Workers International Union of North America (*q. v.*); and independent organizations. Affiliated with CIO.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
1st, 1939; 2nd, 1941
2. Constitutions.
1939; 1941
3. Journal.
Published as: (Philadelphia; New York)
1937?-1938: *People's Press. United Furniture Workers Edition*
1939-1941+: *Furniture Workers Press*

FURNITURE WORKERS' UNION OF AMERICA, INTERNATIONAL

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1873 Organized as Furniture Workers' Association of North America.
- 1882 Changed name to International Furniture Workers' Union of America.
- 1887 Affiliated with AFL.
- 1896 Merged with Machine Wood Workers' International Union of America (*q. v.*) to form Amalgamated Wood Workers' International Union of America (*q. v.*)

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
1st-7th ann. 1873-1886; 8th, 1890; 9th, 1894
2. Constitutions.
[1873]; 1874; 1876; 1881; 1883; 1884; 1887; 1890; 1892

3. Journal.

Published as: (New York; Brooklyn)

Feb 1883-1884: *Möbel-arbeiter Journal*1885-Apr 1891: *Furniture Workers' Journal*Jun 15, 1891-Jan 15, 1896: *General Wood Workers' Journal*
(Ceased publication)

GLASS BOTTLE BLOWERS' ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA

Address: 12 S. 12th St., Philadelphia

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1868? Organized as Independent Druggist Ware Glass Blowers' League. Split into Eastern and Western Leagues, known also as Green Bottle Blowers and Green Glass Workers, respectively.
- 1886 Eastern and Western Leagues affiliated with Knights of Labor as District Assembly No. 149 and No. 143, respectively.
- 1889 Districts merged under name of National Trade Assembly No. 143, Knights of Labor.
- 1891 Withdrew from Knights of Labor and adopted name of United Green Glass Workers' Association of the United States and Canada.
- 1895 Changed name to Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada.
- 1899 Affiliated with AFL.
- 1901 Absorbed prescription department (bottle blowers) of American Flint Glass Workers' Union (*q. v.*).

II. PUBLICATIONS

- 1. Proceedings.
1st-17th ann., 1887-1892; 18th-49th ann., 1894-1925; 50th, 1927; 51st, 1929; 52nd-55th bien., 1934-1940
- 2. Constitutions.
1888; ann. 1892-1915; ann. 1917-1925; 1929; 1934; 1938; 1940
- 3. Journal.
Published as: (Philadelphia; Camden, N. J.)
1921-Feb 1925: *The Bottle Maker* (Ceased publication)

GLASS, CERAMIC AND SILICA SAND WORKERS OF AMERICA, FEDERATION OF

Address: 85 E. Gay St., Columbus, O.

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1934 Organized as Federation of Flat Glass Workers of America. Affiliated with AFL.
- 1936 Affiliated with CIO. Suspended by AFL.
- 1940 Adopted present name.

II. PUBLICATIONS

- 1. Proceedings.
3rd, 1937; 4th, 1940
- 2. Constitutions.
1934; 1935; 1940
- 3. Journal.
Published as: (Harrisburg, Pa.; Columbus, O.)
Sep 1934-1936: *Flat Glass Worker* (Ceased publication)
1938: *CIO News. Glass Workers Edition* (Ceased publication)
Jun 1940-1941+: *CIO News. Glass, Ceramic and Silica Sand Edition*

GLASS CUTTERS AND FLATTENERS' ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA, INC., WINDOW

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1904 Organized as result of merger of Window Glass Cutters' League of America, 1894 (*q.v.*) with Window Glass Flatteners' Association of North America, a seceding faction of Window Glass Workers' Local Assembly No. 300, Knights of Labor (*q.v.*).
- 1925 Affiliated with AFL.
- 1930 Merged with Cutters' League (*q.v.*) to form Window Glass Cutters' League of America, 1930 (*q.v.*).

II. PUBLICATIONS

- 1. Proceedings.
1st, 1906
- 2. Constitutions.
1906; 1911; 1912; 1925

GLASS CUTTERS' LEAGUE OF AMERICA, WINDOW, 1894

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1894? Organized by seceding faction of cutters of Window Glass Workers' Local Assembly No. 300, Knights of Labor (*q. v.*).
 1904 Merged with Window Glass Flatteners' Association of North America to form Window Glass Cutters' and Flatteners' Association of America, Inc. (*q. v.*).

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
1900
2. Constitutions.
1898; 1900

GLASS CUTTERS' LEAGUE OF AMERICA, WINDOW, 1930

Address: 9 E. Long St., Columbus, O.

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1917 Organized as Cutters' League.
 1928 Affiliated with AFL.
 1930 Merged with Window Glass Cutters and Flatteners Association of America, Inc. (*q. v.*) to form Window Glass Cutters League of America.
 1933 Absorbed Window Glass Cutters and Flatteners' Protective Association.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Constitutions.
1924; 1929; 1930; 1935; 1939
2. Journal.
Published as: (Columbus, O.)
 1929-Jul 1932: *The Glass Cutter*
 Jun 1938-1941+: *The Glass Cutter*
 (Suspended Aug 1932-May 1938.)

GLASS WORKERS, NATIONAL WINDOW

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1904 Organized as result of merger of Window Glass Workers Association of America (*q. v.*) and United Window Glass Workers Association of America (*q. v.*) under name of Amalgamated Window Glass Workers of America.
- 1906 Affiliated with AFL.
- 1908 Reorganized as National Window Glass Workers.
- 1910 Absorbed members of Window Glass Workers' Local Assembly No. 300, Knights of Labor (*q. v.*).
- 1918 Reaffiliated with AFL.
- 1928 Disbanded.

II. PUBLICATIONS

- 1. Proceedings.
1st-3rd ann., 1905-1907
- 2. Constitutions.
ann. 1904-1908; bien. 1910-1914; ann. 1915-1917; 1920; 1923; 1927
- 3. Journal.
Published as: (Cleveland)
Aug 1915-Apr 1924: *The National* (Ceased publication)

GLASS WORKERS', WINDOW, LOCAL ASSEMBLY NO. 300, KNIGHTS OF LABOR

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1880 Organized by group of window glass workers' locals.
- 1894? Seceding faction organized Window Glass Cutters' League of America (*q. v.*).
- 1897? Seceding faction organized Window Glass Flatteners' Association of North America, which later merged with Window Glass Cutters League of America, 1894 to form Window Glass Cutters' and Flatteners' Association of America, Inc. (*q. v.*).
- 1902 Seceding faction organized Window Glass Workers' Association of America (*q. v.*).
- 1904 Seceding faction organized United Window Glass Workers Association of America (*q. v.*).
- 1910 Disbanded. Membership absorbed by National Window Glass Workers (*q. v.*).

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
3rd, 1884; 5th, 1889; 6th, 1892; 7th, 1895; 8th, 1896; 9th, 1899; [10th, 1903]
2. Reports.
Officers: 1900
President: 1901
3. Constitutions.
1886; 1892; 1895; 1896; 1899

**GLASS WORKERS' ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA,
UNITED WINDOW**

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1904 Organized by seceding faction of Window Glass Workers' Local Assembly No. 300, Knights of Labor (*q. v.*). Shortly after organization, merged with Window Glass Workers' Association of America (*q. v.*) to form Amalgamated Window Glass Workers of America (*q. v.*).

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
[1st, 1904]

GLASS WORKERS' ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA, WINDOW

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1902 Organized by seceding faction of Window Glass Workers' Local Assembly No. 300, Knights of Labor (*q. v.*).
 1904 Merged with United Window Glass Workers Association (*q. v.*) to form Amalgamated Window Glass Workers of America (*q. v.*).

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
[1st, 1902]; 2nd, 1904
2. Reports.
President: 1902
3. Constitutions.
1902

GLASS WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA, AMALGAMATED

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1900 Organized. Affiliated with AFL.
 1915 Absorbed by Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paper-hangers of America (*q. v.*).

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
1903; 1905; 3rd, 1911
2. Constitutions.
1900; 1903; 1905; 1907; 1911; 1913
3. Journal.
Published as: (Chicago)
Sep 1902-1915: *The Glass Worker* (Ceased publication)

GLASS WORKERS' UNION OF NORTH AMERICA, AMERICAN FLINT

Address: Huron St. and Jefferson Ave., Toledo, O.

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1878 Organized by locals formerly affiliated with Knights of Labor.
 1897 Affiliated with AFL.
 1901 Prescription department (bottle blowers) seceded and joined Glass Bottle Blowers Association of the United States and Canada (*q. v.*).
 1903 Withdrew from AFL.
 1912 Reaffiliated with AFL.

II. PUBLICATIONS (Code Number: F3)

1. Proceedings.
[1st, 1878; 2nd, 1879; spec., 1879; 3rd-9th ann., 1880-1886];
10th-13th ann., 1887-1890; [14th, 1891]; 15th-22nd ann.,
1892-1899; spec., 1899; 23rd-65th ann., 1901-1941 (25th, 36th
omitted in numbering)

2. Constitutions.

1880/1881; ann. 1883-1893; ann. 1895-1897; 1899; 1901; ann. 1903-1923; quad. 1926-1934; 1937; 1938

3. Journal.

Published as: (Toledo, O.)

Nov 1909-1941+: *The American Flint*

(Suspended Oct 1932-Feb 1935. v. 19 and v. 23, no. 8 repeated in numbering.)

Editors:

Nov 1909-Sep 1912: T. W. Rowe

Oct 1912-Aug 1914: W. J. Croke

Sep 1914-Jul 1925: Joseph M. Gillooly

Aug 1925-Apr 1940: Harry H. Cook

May 1940-1941+: William G. Muhleman

III. CRITIQUE OF PUBLICATIONS

Although the American Flint Glass Workers' Union was organized in 1878 it did not publish an official journal until 1909. *The American Flint* has appeared monthly since that time except for a three-year suspension during the early thirties. The journal has from the beginning consisted mainly of articles by members and officers, correspondence from local press secretaries, and editorials. The articles dealt with such general subjects as the glass industry and the objectives of unionism, and also with matters of more immediate interest such as the history of the Flint Glass Workers' Union, suggestions for improvement of the union, benefit funds, jurisdictional disputes, and methods of combatting the competition of non-union plants. Until about 1914 many of the contributions expounded socialist principles, but after 1919 there was frequent condemnation of the Russian form of government.

Correspondence from local secretaries emphasized personal and social events, local trade conditions, and local union activities. After 1935, however, an increasing concern with national affairs was evidenced in discussions of the causes of depression, the reciprocal trade treaties, and the Townsend plan. In 1933 unskilled workers in the glass industry began to be admitted to the union and letters from these workers shortly began to appear in the journal. The problem of assimilating these workers into what had been a strictly craft organization was frequently discussed throughout the remainder of the period.

Until about 1918 the editorial page devoted no more than a few sentences to any one topic. After that time longer editorials began to appear on such subjects as wages, hours of work, child labor, the use of injunctions in labor disputes, and the introduction of

automatic glass-making machinery. Much of the material included in the editorial section, however, was reprinted from other sources, usually speeches or articles by prominent labor and political figures and releases from the AFL Weekly News Service and the International Labor News Service. Reprinted material was also commonly used as in other sections of the journal.

In addition to these regular features of the journal, several other types of material were included at certain periods. Among these were quarterly reports of the secretary-treasurer, technical articles on glass making, news columns under such headings as "Trade Notes," biographies of old members, and obituaries. The early issues of the journal contained frequent communications between this union and the glassworkers' unions of Germany, Italy, and Great Britain concerning their common problems and arrangements for meetings of the International Glass Workers Congress. When vitally important problems arose in the administration of the union, minutes of meetings and copies of pertinent communications were printed in the journal or as a special supplement to it.

The union's convention proceedings retained the same general form throughout the period studied. Officers' reports formed at least two-thirds of each proceedings and, as these reports came to contain more and more detail, the size of the proceedings increased gradually from an average of 125 pages to more than 400 pages. The discussion of delegates was printed only on those rare occasions when serious factional conflict developed, as it did, for example, in the convention of 1930. In general, the third of the proceedings not occupied by officers' reports contained lists of committee members, reports of committees to the convention, letters of greeting, letters from manufacturers asking exemption from certain union regulations, and letters from members appealing to the convention from decisions of the president and executive board.

The president's report covered the whole range of union problems, including the condition of the industry, the financial position of the union, new locals chartered, strikes, apprenticeship rules, labor supply, overtime, foreign competition and tariff legislation, competition from non-union plants, and the introduction of new machinery. The report also summarized the meetings of the executive board and detailed the grievances submitted by members and the decisions rendered on them. In some cases all correspondence, minutes, and documents pertaining to grievance cases were reproduced. In a separate section, the president reviewed the condition of each department and the results of its annual conference with manufacturers in its branch of the industry. The changes in wage lists, in the maximum "moves" per "turn" (out-

put per shift) permitted by the union, and in other working rules resulting from these conferences were presented in full detail.

The other principal report was that of the secretary. This comprehensive and detailed document itemized the income and expenditures of the union and also included data on union membership, the number of members employed and unemployed, average wage rates in the industry, the number and cost of strikes, and a summary of the financial history of the union from its inception. This report overlapped that of the president at some points since it usually included discussions of non-union competition, jurisdictional disputes, strikes, and the apprenticeship system.

From 1899 to 1901 and from 1907 to 1941 the proceedings contained reports from organizers and international representatives, describing their work of conducting and settling strikes, organizing, and adjusting local grievances.

The major theme which recurred throughout the publications was the concern of the union over competition from foreign countries, from non-union plants, and from improved mechanical equipment. The methods adopted to combat competition were varied and ingenious. The failure of any of these methods to achieve complete success forced gradual modifications of the union's wage schedules and working rules.

The bottle department, after repeated unsuccessful efforts to organize the non-union plants, adopted in 1893 a "bounty" system which allowed union employers to pay the lower wages prevailing in non-union plants. The difference between the two scales was paid by the union from an assessment levied on all members. From 1904 to 1909 the chimney department agreed to a "sliding scale" system of wage payment to meet the competition of the Macbeth-Evans Company. This powerful non-union concern was a continuing source of trouble to the union and was not organized until 1941, at which time it was a branch of the Corning Glass Company. In the late nineties the union's flask department started the American Flint Bottle Company in order to attract business from non-union firms. Although the enterprise lost money, it achieved its major purpose. The 1901 proceedings contain a full report on the operation and financial position of the factory.

Continuing competition from non-union producers also forced the union to eliminate its "summer stop" rule and to modify its limitations on production. The summer stop rule was first set aside in the United States Glass Company after an unsuccessful strike in 1893. Concessions were gradually made to other companies, and by 1926 the summer stop rule had been almost com-

pletely eliminated and replaced by an optional two weeks vacation without pay. The limitations on the number of articles which a worker could produce per shift was also gradually abandoned and replaced by piecework systems involving no limit on output, though in some cases the worker was still guaranteed a minimum rate per shift regardless of the quantity produced.

The union's officers early realized the futility of opposing new machinery and recommended that the union adjust itself to the new methods. During the thirties the union advocated a tax on machine-made products, but without success. It was also active in promoting tariff legislation, and both the officers' reports and the journal frequently contained copies of briefs submitted by the officers at tariff hearings.

The development of glass making machinery not only produced serious unemployment among flint glass workers and major alterations in the union's working rules but also largely eliminated the distinction between the Flint Glass Workers' Union and the Glass Bottle Blowers' Association, which had been based essentially on differences in production methods. The result was a series of jurisdictional disputes between the two unions which continued until 1912, when a jurisdictional agreement acceptable to both groups was drawn up. The 1911 convention proceedings and the October 1911 issue of the journal contain a complete report of the negotiations leading up to this agreement. Relations between the two unions were amicable after 1912 except for a dispute over the making of glass letters for neon signs, which began in 1927.

PAVERS, RAMMERMEN, FLAG LAYERS, BRIDGE AND STONE CURB SETTERS AND SHEET ASPHALT PAVERS, INTERNATIONAL UNION OF

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1905 Organized as International Union of Pavers, Rammermen, Flaggers, Bridge and Curb Setters.
- 1906 Changed name to International Union of Pavers, Rammetmen, Flaggers, Bridge and Stone Curb Setters.
- 1908 Changed name to International Union of Pavers, Rammermen, Flag-Layers, Bridge and Stone Curb Setters.
- 1914? Changed name to International Union of Pavers, Rammermen, Asphalt Workers, Mastic Asphalt Workers, Asphalt Block, Brick, Iron Slag and Wood Block Pavers, Flaggers, Bridge and Stone Curb Setters.
- 1931 Adopted present name.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
2nd-4th ann. 1906-1908; 6th, 1914
2. Reports.
President: 1914
Secretary: 1914
3. Constitutions.
ann. 1905-1908; 1914

PAVING CUTTERS' UNION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND CANADA, INTERNATIONAL

Address: Box 30, Rockport, Mass.

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1901 Organized by group of AFL federal locals as Paving Cutters Union of the United States of America. Affiliated with AFL.
1904 Adopted present name.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Constitutions.
1905; 1906; ann. 1908-1910; 1912; 1915; 1916/1917; quad. 1920-1928; bien. 1929-1933; 1936; 1938
2. Journal.
Published as: (Albion, N. Y.; Rockport, Mass.)
1907-Jun 1908: *Paving Cutters' Union of the United States and Canada*
Jul 1908-Nov 1914: *Paving Cutters' News*
Dec 1914-1939: *Paving Cutters' Journal*
(Ceased publication. Nov 1935 is v. 29, no. 11; Dec 1935 is v. 39, no. 12.)

PIANO, ORGAN, AND MUSICAL INSTRUMENT WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL UNION OF AMERICA

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1898 Organized as Piano and Organ Workers' International Union of America.
1901 Affiliated with AFL.
1904 Changed name to Piano, Organ, and Musical Instrument Workers' International Union of America.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
[1st, 1899; 2nd, 1900]; 3rd, 1901; 4th-6th bien., 1902-1906;
7th, 1911; 9th, 1920 (5th-7th, 9th *with* journal)
2. Constitutions.
bien. 1898-1906; 1911
3. Journal.
Published as: (Chicago)
1899-1911: . . . *Official Journal*
(Apparently a few issues were published in 1920.)

POTTERS, NATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF OPERATIVE

Address: Box 6, East Liverpool, O.

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1890 Organized.
 1897? Absorbed Potters' National Union of North America.
 1899 Affiliated with AFL.
 1900 Absorbed Sanitary Pressers' National Union.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
4th-40th ann., 1894-1930; 41st, 1932; 42nd-49th ann., 1934-1941
2. Reports.
Executive Board: 1923-1941 (in conv. years)
Financial Report: ann. 1922-1941
3. Constitutions.
1890; 1895; 1899; 1902; 1904; bien. 1910-1914; 1920; 1925;
1928; 1930; 1935; 1939; 1941
4. Journal.
Published as: (East Liverpool, O.)
Apr 1902-1941+: *The Potters' Herald*
(Vs. 20-28 omitted in numbering; vs. 36, 37 marked 35, 36;
vs. 46, 47 marked 42, 43.)

SHINGLE WEAVERS OF AMERICA, INTERNATIONAL

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1903 Organized as International Shingle Weavers of America. Affiliated with AFL.
- 1913 Changed name to International Union of Shingle Weavers, Sawmill Workers and Woodsmen of America.
- 1914 Changed name to International Union of Timberworkers.
- 1916 Resumed name of International Shingle Weavers of America.
- 1918 Merged with International Union of Timberworkers (*q. v.*).

II. PUBLICATIONS

- 1. Proceedings.
1st-13th ann., 1903-1915 (1st, 3rd, 9th-13th *with journal*)
- 2. Constitutions.
ann. 1904-1914
- 3. Journal.
Published as: (Everett, Wash.)
1903-Feb 22, 1913: *The Shingle Weaver*
Mar 1, 1913-Feb 1915: *The Timber Worker*
Jun 2, 1917-Mar 2, 1918: *The Shingle Weaver*
(Vs. 11-12 marked v. 1. Mar 1, 1913-Feb 1915 in *Seattle Union Record.*)

SHIPWRIGHTS, JOINERS, CAULKERS, BOAT BUILDERS AND SHIP CABINET MAKERS OF AMERICA INTERNATIONAL UNION OF

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1902 Organized as National Union Shipwrights, Joiners and Caulkers' of America. Affiliated with AFL.
- 1907 Changed name to International Union Shipwrights, Joiners, Caulkers, Boat Builders and Ship Cabinet Makers of America.
- 1911 Suspended by AFL.
- 1913 Absorbed by United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America (*q. v.*).

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
1st-3rd ann., 1902-1904; [1905]; 5th, 1907
2. Reports.
Officers: 1902
3. Journal.
Published as: (Elizabeth, N. J.)
? -1903: *Quarterly Report*
Jan-Jun 1904?: *Official Magazine*

STONECUTTERS' ASSOCIATION OF NORTH AMERICA, JOURNEYMEN

Address: 8 E. Market St., Indianapolis

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1853 Organized.
- 1887 Reorganized as Journeymen Stonecutters' Association of North America.
- 1907 Affiliated with AFL.
- 1915 Absorbed local New York cutters' and carvers' unions.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
4th, 1891; 5th, 1892; 6th, 1894; 7th-10th bien., 1902-1908;
11th, 1913; 12th-14th trien., 1915-1921; 15th-17th trien., 1923-1929 (6th-17th with journal)
2. Constitutions.
1892; 1894; bien. 1900-1908; 1913; 1915; 1918; 1921; 1923; 1929; 1938
3. Journal.
Published as: (Indianapolis)
Aug 1886-1941+: *The Stone Cutters' Journal*

WOOD CARVERS' ASSOCIATION OF NORTH AMERICA, INTERNATIONAL

Address: 14 Pearson Ave., Somerville, Mass.

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1883 Organized as National Wood Carvers' Association of North America.
- 1898 Affiliated with AFL under present name.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
[1st, 1883; 2nd, 1884]; 3rd, 1885; 4th-7th bien., 1887-1893;
8th, 1896; 9th, 1900; 10th, 1903; 1908; 1914; 1930
2. Constitutions.
trien. 1890-1899; 1900; 1903; 1908; 1914; 1925; 1930
3. Journal.
Published as: (Cincinnati; Boston; Jamaica, N. Y.; Somerville, Mass.)
Aug 1900-1941+ : *The International Woodcarver*

WOOD WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL UNION OF AMERICA, AMALGAMATED

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1890 Organized as Machine Wood Workers' International Union of America. Affiliated with AFL.
- 1896 Merged with International Furniture Workers' Union of America (*q. v.*) to form Amalgamated Wood Workers' International Union of America.
- 1912 Absorbed membership of United Order of Box Makers and Sawyers of America (*q. v.*). Merged with United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America (*q. v.*).

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
[1st, 1890]; 2nd, 1891; 3rd, 1892; [1895] (2nd, 3rd *with* journal). After merger: 1st-3rd quad., 1896-1904; 4th, 1909 (1st *with* journal)
2. Constitutions.
ann. 1890-1892; bien. 1894-1904; 1905
3. Journal.
Published as: (Denver; Chicago)
Dec 1890-Oct 1894: *The Machine Wood Worker*
May-Aug 1895: *American Wood-Worker*
Nov 1895-Apr 1908: *The International Wood-Worker*
(V. 3 of *The Machine Wood Worker* repeated in numbering.
Ceased publication.)

WOODWORKERS OF AMERICA, INTERNATIONAL

Address: 314 S. W. 9th St., Portland, Ore.

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1936 Organized as Federation of Woodworkers by seceding faction of United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America (*q. v.*).
1937 Adopted present name. Affiliated with CIO.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
1st-4th ann., 1937-1940; 5th, 1941
2. Constitutions.
1937; 1940
3. Journal.
Published as: (Seattle; Portland, Ore.)
1936-1941+ : *Timber Worker*

CHAPTER 9

Paper, Printing, and Bookbinding

BOOKBINDERS, INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF

Address: 901 Massachusetts Ave., N. W., Washington

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1892 Organized after secession of craft from International Typographical Union (*q. v.*).
- 1894 Jurisdiction recognized by International Typographical Union.
- 1898 Affiliated with AFL.
- 1919 Absorbed International Brotherhood of Tip Printers.

II. PUBLICATIONS (Code Number: B4)

- 1. Proceedings.
 - 1st-4th ann., 1892-1895; 5th-7th bien., 1896-1920; 18th-21st bien., 1924-1930; 22nd, 1940 (9th-22nd *with journal*)
- 2. Reports.
 - President: 1908-1940 (in conv. years; *with journal*)
 - Secretary-Treasurer: 1912-1940 (in conv. years; *with journal*)
 - Executive Council: bien. 1897-1901
- 3. Constitutions.
 - bien. 1892-1902; 1905; 1907; bien. 1910-1918; 1921; 1923; bien. 1924-1928; 1930 (2 edns.); 1940
- 4. Journal.
 - Published as: (Washington; New York; Indianapolis; Washington)
 - 1900-1941+ : *The International Bookbinder*
(Suspended Sep-Nov 1900; Jun-Oct 1921.)
 - Editors:
 - 1900-Oct 1904: J. L. Feeney
 - Nov 1904-Sep 1914: James W. Dougherty
 - Oct-Nov 1914: A. P. Sovey
 - Dec 1914-Jan 1919: Walter N. Reddick
 - Feb 1919-May 1921: David T. Davies
 - Nov 1921-1930: Felix J. Belair
 - 1931-1941+ : J. W. Prewitt

III. CRITIQUE OF PUBLICATIONS

The International Bookbinder was founded in 1900 by a member of the Washington, D. C. local, who for four years published it with his own funds. In 1904 the journal was placed under the supervision of the executive council and the secretary-treasurer assumed the editorship.

Emphasis was placed from the beginning on an "Official Section" consisting of reports and instructions. These included a monthly letter by the president describing his activities and commenting on problems facing the organization, and a varied array of notices and instructions to locals from the secretary-treasurer's office. From 1906 onward, lists of constitutional amendments to be voted on by referendum were published. During 1917-1921 and 1924-1941 the official section regularly included a "synopsis of propositions considered by the executive council," with the action taken on each. These summaries were considerably abbreviated after 1929 except where important issues were involved, in which case the minutes of the council's meeting were reproduced.

The journal also contained at most times an editorial section, a section of letters from official correspondents of local unions, letters and articles by union members and officers, material reprinted from other publications, and special sections varying with the interests of the editor. In general, however, there was a tendency to reduce these types of material in favor of the official section. Active participation of the membership through articles and letters declined, editorials became shorter, and fewer articles were reprinted from other publications. This trend was broken only during the twenties, when the journal carried a considerable amount of general material on national affairs, trade unionism, and the bookbinding trade.

One of the principal concerns of the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders has been its relations with other unions in the printing industry. The Bookbinders' union, like those of the Pressmen, Stereotypers and Electrotypers, and Photo-Engravers, was formed by secession from the International Typographical Union. From 1895 to 1911 the Bookbinders participated in the various printing trades agreements and alliances, the purpose of which was to secure "harmonious cooperation of all local unions in joint defensive action and label agitation." Much of the "label agitation" during these years was among the unions themselves, for the Typographical Union claimed sole ownership rights in the

allied printing trades label, and the Bookbinders, together with the Pressmen, Stereotypers, and Photo-Engravers, vigorously contested this stand. The issue was partially settled by the establishment in 1911 of the International Allied Printing Trades Association and the vesting in it of joint ownership and control of the allied label. The Bookbinders also maintained their own label for use on books not bearing the allied label.

In spite of these agreements the Bookbinders became involved in several jurisdictional disputes with other printing trades unions. The disputes which received most treatment in the Brotherhood's journal and convention proceedings were the conflict with the mailers' locals of the Typographical Union over single-wrapping (1912-1925); and with the Pressmen over sheet straighteners and paper handlers (1925) and cutting machine operators (1940). Many of these disputes were precipitated by the introduction of new machines. The Bookbinders continually advocated an alliance of the printing trade unions strong enough to settle jurisdictional questions authoritatively.

The Brotherhood suffered also from jurisdictional friction among its constituent locals. One such dispute among the New York locals in 1911 led to the secession of several locals and an attempt to start a dual union. Dissension prevailed in New York until 1917, when a special "peace committee" of the local printing trades council settled the dispute. Trouble again arose in 1914 when the Washington, D. C., local refused to admit operators of folding machines, and as a result had its charter revoked. The dispute was settled in 1916 with the restoration of the charter and the establishment of a separate local for folding machine operators. A more serious conflict, beginning in 1931 and continuing to date, arose when the international established a New York branch office to conduct a special organizing campaign. One of the New York locals sought an injunction to restrain the international's operations, but failed and had its charter revoked. A proposal for reinstatement of the local was presented to the 1940 convention but was defeated.

From about 1907 the Brotherhood was confronted with changes in bookbinding technology which, by making possible increased specialization and larger-scale production, reduced the industry's need for skilled workers. There was strong resistance within the union, however, to the admission of semi-skilled workers and not until 1923 was provision made for their organization. In that year the international began admitting "members-at-large" who were not under the jurisdiction of any local and who were admitted

for a reduced initiation fee. When a sufficient number of "members-at-large" had been organized in a community, they could form their own local, but until then they were not entitled to convention representation. In 1937 the Brotherhood, recognizing that semi-skilled workers must be organized as a protection to its skilled members, set up a "Class B" membership. Class B members were not entitled to participate in the union's death benefit system, could receive strike benefits only after one year's membership, and were not permitted to do the work of a journeyman.

The union has always devoted much attention to organizing the large number of women workers in the bookbinding trade. In intensive organizing campaigns in the late nineteen hundreds, the middle twenties, and the late thirties, the international made special efforts to bring the "bindery girls" into the union.

In the economic field, the union's main effort has been to reduce hours and to raise and standardize wages. Demands for the eight-hour day began among the Bookbinders in 1903, and during 1907-1909 they joined with the Pressmen in waging strikes which secured the eight-hour day for both unions. In 1921, the Bookbinders joined all the other printing trades unions in a strike for the forty-four-hour week, which in spite of the industrial depression of the period was substantially successful. A proposal to equalize wages within competitive districts was made as early as 1902, and a union law requiring uniform wage scales for all cities in the same competitive zone was passed in 1914. Not until 1919, however, did the Brotherhood officially launch a wage equalization campaign. Although the campaign was not particularly successful in standardizing wages, it resulted in the establishment of a uniform procedure to be followed by local unions in negotiating wage contracts and drafting arbitration agreements.

The proceedings of the Bookbinders' conventions consisted chiefly of officers' reports and speeches, reports of convention committees, and details of appeals by locals and members to the executive council. Verbatim proceedings were published only in 1894, 1896, and 1898, but the proceedings for other years contained the discussion on some of the more important resolutions.

The president's report was usually a summary of his monthly journal letters and dealt regularly with disputes between the international and members and locals, relations with other international unions, wages, hours, strikes, organization, and union finances, and occasionally with unemployment, business activity, labor legislation, and other current issues. The report of the executive council included short discussions of wage scales, strikes,

chartering of locals, the union journal, the union label, and after 1924, longer discussions of organizing campaigns, charges against officials, and issues raised by local unions.

The content of the secretary-treasurer's report varied from convention to convention; complete statements of receipts and disbursements were sometimes given, while other reports gave only a brief summary of the union's financial position. Also included in the secretary-treasurer's report were accounts of special campaign assessments and benefits, mortality statistics, and lists of the union's investments and securities. Statistics on union membership, the number of members unemployed, wage scales, and hours of work, formerly published in the report of the statistician, were carried in the secretary-treasurer's report after the two offices were merged in 1914.

ENGRAVERS AND SKETCHMAKERS, FRIENDLY SOCIETY OF

Address: 555 Washington Ave., Nutley, N. J.

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1874 Organized.
- 1933 Affiliated with AFL.
- 1935 Withdrew from AFL.

II. PUBLICATIONS

- 1. Proceedings.
[1st-68th ann., 1874-1941]
- 2. Journal.

Published as: (Auburn, R. I.)

1874?-1941+: *Monthly Report*

(According to the secretary of the union, this journal has been issued regularly since the union was founded, but apparently no library has an issue for any year before 1935.)

LITHOGRAPHERS OF AMERICA, AMALGAMATED

Address: 450 Seventh Ave., New York

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1883 Organized as Lithographers' Protective and Insurance Association.

- 1896 Changed name to Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association.
- 1906 Affiliated with AFL.
- 1915 Merged with International Union of Lithographic Workmen; and Lithographic Stone and Plate Preparers to form Amalgamated Lithographers of America.
- 1918 Absorbed Lithographic Press Feeders and Apprentices' Association.

II. PUBLICATIONS

- 1. Proceedings.
3rd, 1895; 4th, 1897; 8th, 1901; 9th, 1904; 10th, 1906; bien., 1923-1927; 1930; 1939
- 2. Reports.
President: 1911; 1913
- 3. Constitutions.
1888; bien. 1891-1897; 1901; 1904; 1906; 1907; bien. 1913-1919; 1924; 1928; 1930; 1936; 1940
- 4. Journal.
Published as: (New York)
1901-1904?: *The Lithographers' Bulletin*
1910-1913?: *Official Publication* ...
Jun 1915-1941+: *The Lithographers' Journal*
(V. 20 repeated in numbering. Possibly suspended 1913-Jun 1915.)

PAPER MAKERS, INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF

Address: 30 Sheridan Ave., Albany, N. Y.

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1884 Organized as social club in Holyoke, Mass.
- 1895 Affiliated with AFL as United Brotherhood of Paper Makers. Absorbed United Brotherhood of Paper Mill Backtenders.
- 1898 Seceding faction of machine tenders organized International Paper Machine Tenders Union.
- 1902 Merged with International Paper Machine Tenders Union under present name. Later in year absorbed AFL federal locals of pulp and sulphite workers and changed name to International Brotherhood of Paper and Pulp Makers.
- 1906 Seceding faction of pulp and sulphite workers organized International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers (*q. v.*).
- 1909 Resumed present name.

II. PUBLICATIONS (Code Number: P2)

1. Proceedings.
1st, 1902; 2nd, 1903; [3rd-5th ann., 1904-1906]; 6th, 1907;
7th, 1909; 8th, 1917; 9th-11th trien., 1921-1927; 12th, 1929;
13th-15th quad., 1931-1939 (1st, 2nd, 6th, 7th *with journal*)
2. Reports.
President and Executive Board: 1905 (*with journal*)
3. Constitutions.
ann. 1905-1907; ann. 1909-1914; 1916; 1918; 1921; bien.
1925-1931; bien. 1935-1939; 1940
4. Journal.
Published as: (Watertown, N. Y.; Albany, N. Y.)
Dec 1901-Jul 1903: *The Paper Makers' Journal*
Aug 1903-Jun 1909: *Paper and Pulp Makers' Journal*
Jul 1909-1941+: *Paper Makers' Journal*
Editors:
Dec 1901-Jul 1903: P. J. Ackerman
Aug 1903-Aug 1907: Thomas Mellor
Sep 1907-Jun 1909: J. J. O'Connor
Jul 1909-Jan 1922: James T. Carey
Feb 1922-1927: Matthew Burns
1928-1939: Arthur Huggins
1940-1941+: Joseph Addy

III. CRITIQUE OF PUBLICATIONS

In 1884 the paper machine tenders of Holyoke, Massachusetts, formed a social club for their mutual benefit and protection. Branches were shortly established in New York State and Wisconsin and in 1893 the organization was chartered by the AFL as the United Brotherhood of Paper Makers, with jurisdiction over skilled machine tenders and beater engineers. During the next ten years the Brotherhood absorbed two other organizations of paper workers and extended its jurisdiction to include all workers in paper mills. In 1902 it adopted the name of International Brotherhood of Paper Makers.

When the union's national board authorized an official *Paper Makers' Journal* in 1901, it specified that the publication was to be non-sectarian and was not to advocate or endorse political parties. The journal adhered rather closely to these instructions, although articles advocating socialism occasionally appeared. The editor was given authority to reject articles which would not be of "interest or benefit" to the membership. The use of this authority was frequently criticized by authors of rejected articles, and the

criticisms were sufficiently vigorous that the editor was obliged to defend his action in print.

The journal consisted from the beginning very largely of correspondence, editorials, and material reprinted from other publications. The reprinted material, taken mostly from AFL publications, dominated the journal in periods when the union was weak and unstable or when correspondence was lagging. The correspondence, while containing a large amount of personal and social news, also discussed controversial issues of union policy. This was particularly true after the adoption of the referendum in 1906. Editorials covered much the same ground as the correspondence and centered on the activities and problems of the Brotherhood. Brief and uninformative in the earlier years, they later provided rather complete discussions of strikes, wage movements, benefit plans, union elections, secessions and mergers, apprenticeship systems, arbitration, national and state legislation, the economic condition of the industry, and similar matters. The journal published the text of the more important collective agreements negotiated by the union, some of which covered a number of locals and companies. Tabulations of the voting on referendum proposals and elections of officers were also published. Columns in French, as well as French translations of editorials and presidents' messages, were printed for the benefit of the French-Canadian members.

Discussions of wages and hours occupied more space in the journal than any other subject. When the Brotherhood was organized, most paper mills worked two twelve-hour shifts and a seven-day week. The union gradually secured the substitution of three eight-hour shifts and the elimination of Saturday night and Sunday work. The results of the union's annual wage scale conferences, which drew up schedules to be presented to employers on the expiration of existing agreements, always provoked extensive discussion in the correspondence section of the journal. In 1914 the union established a standard wage scale for machine tenders in newsprint mills, the rate of pay increasing with the width and speed of the paper machine. Efforts were made in subsequent years—notably in the late thirties—to establish a similar standard scale for fine paper mills. Because of the greater heterogeneity of machines and products, however, the attempt at standardization never achieved the same success in fine paper as in newsprint.

After 1929 the five-day week and six-hour day were frequently advocated as remedies for unemployment. The Brotherhood took an active part in the development of the paper industry codes

under the National Recovery Administration, though it protested that the representation of labor in the administration of NRA was inadequate and that enforcement of the codes' labor provisions was ineffective. The union called a number of strikes to secure enforcement of code provisions.

Although the union followed a conservative strike policy, it was involved in several serious strikes, usually over wages, the eight-hour day, or the open shop issue. The most important of these were the strikes against the International Paper Company and Great Northern Paper Company in 1907-1908, the International Paper Company in 1910, the Northern New York Paper Manufacturers' Association in 1915, and the International Paper Company in 1921. Many other strikes occurred in 1921 as agreements expired and manufacturers insisted on the open shop and a reduction in wages. Most of these, including the International Paper strike, were lost and union membership fell to a low level from which it did not begin to recover until 1933. Between 1933 and 1939 recovery was rapid and union membership increased almost ten-fold.

From 1906 to 1909 the journal concerned itself chiefly with the secession of the pulp and sulphite division of the union, which resulted in the chartering of the Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers as a separate union with jurisdiction over most paper workers other than machine tenders. The circumstances of the secession are described in the discussion of that union's publications. Since the jurisdictional agreement of 1909 the two internationals have cooperated in organizing campaigns, negotiated joint agreements with employers, and supported each other in strikes. Members of the Paper Makers frequently proposed reunion of the two groups, particularly during the depression years after 1929. These proposals usually touched off lively debates on the merits of craft and industrial unionism but the proponents of the merger were never strong enough to compel action.

Other matters frequently discussed in the journal were the use of union-label paper, the level of dues and initiation fees, the size of officers' salaries, the advisability of instituting an apprenticeship system, and the restoration of annual conventions to replace the initiative and referendum in the election of officers and the determination of union policy. From 1902 to 1909, annual conventions were the prevailing rule. Because of the adoption of the initiative and referendum in 1906, however, conventions after 1909 met less frequently and at irregular intervals. Supporters of the referendum system asserted that it was less expensive and more

democratic than government by convention, while its opponents maintained that members voted haphazardly on referendum issues and that many ballots were discarded because of technicalities.

The proceedings of union conventions usually included lists of resolutions presented, discussion of delegates on the resolutions, and speeches delivered to the convention by officers and guests. Because resolutions adopted at conventions had to be ratified later by referendum vote, convention discussions covered much the same ground as did letters and editorials in the journal. The texts of officers' reports did not appear in the proceedings until 1929, though a summary of the union's financial position was always included. From 1929 on the reports of officers reviewed the union's activities between conventions, described important strikes, summarized the actions taken at the annual executive board meetings, listed new locals, commented on and recommended changes in union policies, and analyzed industrial and labor legislation in the United States and Canada.

PHOTO-ENGRAVERS' UNION OF NORTH AMERICA, INTERNATIONAL

Address: 3138 S. Grand Blvd., St. Louis

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1900 Organized by seceding faction of photo-engravers from International Typographical Union (*q. v.*).
- 1903 Jurisdiction recognized by International Typographical Union.
- 1904 Affiliated with AFL.

II. PUBLICATIONS

- 1. Proceedings.
1st, 1900; 2nd, 1901; 4th-42nd ann., 1903-1941 (1st, 2nd type-written MS.; 10th *with* journal)
- 2. Constitutions.
1900; 1901; ann. *1905-*1937; *1939; *1940
- 3. Journal.
Published as: (Chicago; St. Louis)
1902-Nov 1908: *Plate-Makers' Criterion*
Dec 1908-1941+: *The American Photo-Engraver*
(*Plate-Makers' Criterion* was a trade journal in which a section was allotted to the IPEU.)

PRINT CUTTERS' ASSOCIATION, NATIONAL

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1895 Organized.
- 1902 Affiliated with AFL.
- 1923 Merged with National Association of Machine Printers and Color Mixers (*q. v.*) to form United Wall Paper Crafts of North America (*q. v.*).

II. PUBLICATIONS

- 1. Proceedings.
[1st-10th ann., 1896-1905]; 11th-18th ann., 1906-1913
- 2. Constitutions.
1898; 1904; bien. 1908-1914

PRINTERS' DIE STAMPERS' AND ENGRAVERS' UNION OF NORTH AMERICA, INTERNATIONAL PLATE

Address: 40 Gordon St., Ottawa, Ont.

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1893 Organized as National Steel and Copper Plate Printers' Union of the United States of America.
- 1901 Changed name to International Steel and Copper Plate Printers' Union of North America.
- 1920 Changed name to International Plate Printers' and Die Stampers' Union of North America.
- 1925 Merged with International Steel and Copper Plate Engravers' League.
- 1930 Adopted present name.

II. PUBLICATIONS

- 1. Proceedings.
33rd-35th ann., 1925-1927
- 2. Constitutions.
ann. 1900-1902; 1906; 1914; 1930
- 3. Journal.
Published as: (Washington)
1902-Aug 12, 1932: *The Plate Printer*
(V. 10 omitted in numbering. Ceased publication)

PRINTERS' PROTECTIVE FRATERNITY, INTERNATIONAL

I. CHRONOLOGY

1886 Organized.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Constitutions.

1887; 1893

2. Journal.

Published as: (Los Angeles)

1888?-1907?: *The Fraternity*

PRINTING PRESSMEN AND ASSISTANT'S UNION OF NORTH AMERICA, INTERNATIONAL

Address: Pressmen's Home, Tenn.

I. CHRONOLOGY

1889 Organized as International Printing Pressmen's Union after secession of craft from International Typographical Union (*q. v.*).

1894 Jurisdiction recognized by International Typographical Union.

1895 Affiliated with AFL.

1897 Adopted present name.

II. PUBLICATIONS (Code Number: P3)

1. Proceedings.

[1st, 1889]; 2nd, 1890; 3rd, 1891; 5th, 1893; 7th-26th ann., 1895-1914; 27th, 1916; 28th-32nd bien., 1920-1928; 33rd, 1940 (all except 13th, *with* journal; 28th, 1920, incorrectly numbered 31st)

2. Reports.

President: 1905; 1907; 1916; 1920; 1922; 1926 (1916; 1920; 1922 *with* journal)

Vice-Presidents: 1916; 1920; 1922; 1926 (all except 1926 *with* journal)

President and Vice-Presidents: 1924; 1928; 1940

Secretary-Treasurer: 1905; 1908; 1909; 1926; 1928; 1940

3. Constitutions.

ann. 1897-1908; ann. 1910-1914; 1916; bien. 1920-1928; 1933; 1940

4. Journal.

Published as: (Pressmen's Home, Tenn.)

1890-1941+ : *The American Pressman*

(Suspended Jun-Nov 1892.)

III. CRITIQUE OF PUBLICATIONS

The American Pressman was founded in November 1890, and for four years was published by a series of editors under contract with the union. In 1894 the journal was put under the supervision of the union's board of directors, but not until 1908 did the union take over its publication.

The *Pressman* was from the beginning a trade journal as well as a union journal. One of its early editors stated in 1895: "My chief aim will be to maintain that high degree of technical excellence which has made it the recognized authority on presswork among employing printers and pressmen." That the journal has not departed from this purpose is indicated by its present sub-title—"A Technical Magazine of Printing Devoted Especially to Presswork and Pressroom Management"—and by the fact that since 1912 the offices of editor of the journal and director of the union's trade school have been combined. The *Pressman* has consistently devoted a large portion of its space to articles and departments on the technique of presswork. In addition, the special problems of apprentices, feeders, instructors, salesmen, and manufacturers' representatives have been treated. Departments dealing with the characteristics of commercial, newspaper, and offset printing have been set up. Whole issues of the journal have sometimes been turned over to analyses of special aspects of presswork, as in the case of the "Ink Number" and the "Newspaper Issue."

Aside from technical material, the *Pressman* has consisted principally of editorials, "officials" items, communications from international officers, and correspondence. No material was reprinted from other publications prior to 1902, and only occasionally since then has such material appeared.

Communications from the president of the union have been one of the main features of the *Pressman*. Letters from the president began appearing intermittently in 1897, and after 1900 they were published each month. The letters dealt with union problems and policies concerning collective bargaining, hours, wages, vocational

education, apprenticeship, secession movements, jurisdictional disputes, and relations with other printing trades unions. They described the international's activities in organizing campaigns, and in establishing and developing the Pressmen's home and tuberculosis sanatorium, its trade school, employment bureau, engineering department, statistical and arbitration department, and patent department. They also discussed the effects on the union and the printing industry of business cycles, unemployment, technical change, and government regulations; and described the activities of the president on behalf of the union.

A correspondence department, consisting of letters from the official correspondents of local unions, was started in 1894. The letters were relatively brief until the middle twenties, when a decided increase occurred in their length and informational content. Efforts to develop this department were reflected in a 1924 law requiring quarterly letters from local unions, and in the establishment in 1928 of a hundred-dollar prize for the most consistently logical and practical letter.

Until 1927 the journal published lists of unions in arrears, charters issued, initiations, reinstatements, suspensions, withdrawals and deaths of members. In 1897 these items were collected under the heading "Official" where they appeared until July 1912, when they were inserted in the secretary-treasurer's monthly report. The secretary-treasurer's report included miscellaneous information and instructions to locals and members, and from 1891 to 1914, a financial report. This financial report was published semi-annually from 1891 to 1895, quarterly from 1896 to 1912, and monthly from July 1912 to June 1914. Monthly organizers' reports were initiated in October 1905, but were discontinued after a few months. Lists of nominees for international office were published biennially in the January issue of the journal from 1910 to 1928 and in December 1939. Results of international elections appeared biennially in the March issue from 1910 to 1926, and in the January issues in 1936 and 1940.

One of the major issues reflected in the Pressmen's publications is its relationship with other international unions in the printing industry. The pressmen were the first of the craft groups organized within the International Typographical Union to secede and form their own international. As the pressmen's example was followed by other crafts (bookbinders, stereotypers, and photo-engravers) the need for an alliance among the printing trades unions became evident. After its jurisdiction was recognized by the Typographical Union in 1894, the Pressmen's Union participated

in the printing trades agreements and alliances which culminated in 1911 in the International Allied Printing Trades Association.

The principal purpose of the Association was to establish joint ownership and control over the allied printing trades label. The Pressmen, however, favored a stronger federation which would ensure joint action in the event of strikes and make possible joint negotiation of collective agreements covering all printing trades workers. By 1916 the Stereotypers and Photo-Engravers had agreed to the federation plan, but the proposal was rejected by the Typographical Union, which favored a merger of existing unions and the re-establishment of a single union in the printing industry. The Pressmen nevertheless continued to press for federation. While this was not achieved, the objective of closer cooperation among the printing unions was furthered in 1919 by establishment of the International Conference Council for the Printing Industry and Allied Trades, composed of representatives of the unions and the employing printers' association.

The development of the offset process of printing, beginning around 1909, embroiled the Pressmen, as well as the Photo-Engravers, in a jurisdictional dispute with the Lithographers' Association. The rival claims were submitted to the 1913 convention of the AFL, which advised the unions to settle their differences by conference. No agreement could be reached, however, and the dispute continued until 1937, when the AFL finally awarded jurisdiction over the offset process to the Pressmen and refused to recognize the Lithographers' label. By this time much of the offset work had been transferred from lithographing shops, where it had begun, to regular printing houses.

The Pressmen's union was faced also with jurisdictional conflicts among its own locals. The union early established the practice of chartering several locals in each large city, each with jurisdiction over a particular type of presswork. Thus by 1906 charters were being issued to separate locals of pressmen, assistants, pressmen and assistants, web pressmen, job pressmen, and job-press feeders. This situation naturally raised the issue of whether any union pressman should have the right to operate any kind of press. The issue was complicated by differences in wage scales and apprenticeship requirements among the several kinds of presswork. Conflicts among the New York City locals arose in 1896, 1906, 1919, and 1923, and resulted in secession of locals, revocation of charters, and reorganization of locals by the international officers.

The union has had to combat two serious secession movements. The first of these occurred in 1913 as a result of a constitutional

amendment giving small locals more influence in the government of the union. The large locals of New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Buffalo, Newark, and St. Louis seceded in protest. After conferences with the leaders of the AFL, the Allied Printing Trades Association and other internationals had failed to resolve the dispute, the charters of the seceding locals were withdrawn and re-issued to "loyal" elements. A convention of secessionists was held, but in June 1915 a settlement was finally arranged at a conference of international and local officers. The seceding locals agreed to reaffiliate with the international and the locals which had been chartered to replace them consented to merge with the returning unions. Issues in dispute were to be settled by the Pressmen's convention.

Evidence of a new revolt against the international leadership, centered in New York and Chicago, appeared in the *Pressman* in May 1919. The rebellious locals, which had developed a strong organization with their own publication and a separate treasury, objected to a special assessment voted in 1917 to replenish the treasury of the international. They charged that President George Berry, along with other members of the executive council, had enriched themselves at the union's expense by setting up numerous personal corporations which then borrowed money from the union funds. The secession movement developed until it tied up the entire printing industry of New York City, whereupon the Allied Printing Trades Association withdrew the allied label from the local council, and the employing printers' association refused to employ members of the seceded locals. These actions led to the collapse of the New York revolt in November 1919. One of the Chicago locals, however, had secured an injunction against the revocation of its charter, and not until 1923 did this local agree to drop the litigation and reaffiliate with the international.

Changes in printing technology created two problems for the Pressmen's Union—loss of jurisdiction over new processes, and displacement of pressmen through improved techniques of production. The union met the first problem by pressing its jurisdictional claims to new processes and by instituting a broad training program for apprentices and journeymen. A trade school was established in 1912, the purpose of which was to provide pressmen with comprehensive instruction in processes, methods, machines, and supplies. Supplementary regional trade schools were added in 1922 and a large portion of the union journal was devoted to information and instruction on technical matters.

To reduce the displacement of pressmen by technological advances, the union waged several intensive campaigns for shorter hours. The nine-hour day was obtained in 1899 through negotiation with employers. A strike lasting from 1907 to 1910 was necessary to secure the eight-hour day. The eight-hour issue precipitated a struggle within the union. While the Typographical Union was waging its strike for the eight-hour day in 1906-1907, the Pressmen continued at work under an agreement with the commercial printers' association which provided that they would be paid for any time lost as a result of the strike. Membership sentiment was opposed to this policy from the first and when, in 1907, the agreement was extended through 1909, the leadership was overthrown and the eight-hour strike begun. In 1921 the Pressmen struck along with the other printing trades unions for the forty-four-hour week. In spite of the industrial depression which existed at the time, the main objectives of the strike were secured. Between 1922 and 1941 the union was able without any major strikes to reduce working hours to forty per week.

The Pressmen claim to have been one of the first American unions to enter into trade agreements. The union has placed great emphasis on observance of contracts with employers and on settlement of disputes by peaceful means. From 1902 on the union maintained an agreement with the American Newspaper Publishers' Association providing for national arbitration of disputes which could not be settled by local arbitration. In 1927 the international established a statistical and arbitration department to assist local unions in arbitration proceedings and contract negotiations. In spite of these efforts to eliminate strikes, the Pressmen were forced to wage a seven-year strike with the Chicago Newspaper Publishers Association. This strike, which lasted from 1912 to 1919, arose out of a controversy over wage rates and the number and classes of men to be allowed to operate certain types of equipment.

Like the other printing trades unions, the Pressmen have been active in campaigns to improve sanitary conditions in printing shops and remove the causes of tuberculosis, the printers' occupational disease. In addition, the international has maintained a home and tuberculosis sanatorium for its aged and disabled members, and has established a pension plan.

The proceedings of the Pressmen's conventions consisted primarily of speeches by officers and guests, resolutions and discussion on them, reports of convention committees and, until 1916, reports of officers. After 1916 officers' reports were published separately

from the proceedings. The conventions from 1889-1901, 1904-1920, and 1928-1940 were reported verbatim, while the proceedings of other conventions were summarized.

Comprehensive reports of international officers were published beginning in 1895. The president's report covered the same issues which he discussed in his monthly letter for the *Pressman*. The reports of vice-presidents and organizers told of the progress of organizing activities in their jurisdictions and offered comments and recommendations on union problems. The report of the secretary-treasurer included statistics on membership, locals chartered, and union finances. Until 1903, the financial report gave only annual receipts and expenditures. In the reports from 1905 to 1909, receipts were itemized daily. From 1926 on an accounting of the union's assets and of itemized receipts and expenditures, a list of pension payments, a report on the bonding system, and a list of locals chartered were included in the secretary-treasurer's report.

PULP, SULPHITE AND PAPER MILL WORKERS, INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF

Address: P. O. Drawer 30, Fort Edwards, N. Y.

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1906 Organized by seceding faction of International Paper and Pulp Makers (*q. v.*).
- 1909 Affiliated with AFL.

II. PUBLICATIONS (Code Number: P5)

1. Proceedings.
 - 1st, 1906; 2nd-4th bien., 1907-1911; 5th-11th bien., 1912-1924; 12th, 1925; 13th, 1929; 14th-19th bien., 1931-1941 (1st *with* journal for 1939)
2. Constitutions.
 - 1907; bien. 1912-1926; 1929; bien. 1935-1939; 1941
3. Journal.
 - Published as: (Glen Falls, N. Y.; Fort Edwards, N. Y.)
 - 1912-Aug 1921: *The Journal*
 - Feb 1926-1941+: *The Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers Journal*
 - (Suspended Sep 1921-Jan 1926; volume enumeration, 1931-1935, very confused.)

Editors:

1912-Jan 1917: John H. Malin

Feb 1917-1941+: John P. Burke

III. CRITIQUE OF PUBLICATIONS

The International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers includes most paper mill workers other than the paper machine tenders, and also workers on bags, boxes, and other converted paper products. These workers, first organized in federal locals of the AFL, were taken into the Paper Makers' union in 1903 as a separate division. In 1906 the pulp and sulphite workers called a separate convention and seceded from the Paper Makers, charging that their interests were being subordinated to those of the craft group. From 1906 until 1909 a bitter struggle raged between the two organizations, in which each raided the other's membership and broke the other's strikes. After both unions had been almost destroyed, the Paper Makers in 1909 permitted the AFL to issue a separate charter to the rival group. An agreement was reached on jurisdiction and cordial relations were established which have persisted to the present day. The two unions hold joint wage conferences and present a common front to employers in organizing campaigns and contract negotiations.

Shortly after the stabilization of the union's position, it decided in 1912 to publish a monthly journal. John P. Burke, president and secretary of the union from 1917 to the present time, has also edited the journal throughout this period. The journal has varied in size from about eight to thirty-two pages and was suspended entirely from 1921 to 1926 for lack of funds. Its main features, however, have remained substantially unchanged since its foundation.

Editorial comment has normally occupied two pages of each issue. Besides discussing immediate union problems, President Burke's editorials have ranged rather widely over subjects of general interest to the labor movement, including labor and social legislation, the courts, the press, the unemployment problem, the economics of wages and hours, the union shop, the effects of war, and the question of American participation in war.

Correspondence has normally comprised from one-fourth to one-half of each issue. While letters from members deal mainly with local social events, they occasionally provide information on local wages, hours, and working conditions. From 1917 on the organizers, who are usually international vice-presidents with regional responsibilities, have submitted monthly statements of their work

which are published in the correspondence section. These reports summarize their participation in contract negotiations, grievance settlement, and strike management, and also frequently discuss current problems of union administration and policy.

The remainder of the journal has consisted largely of material reprinted from other sources, but original articles have occasionally appeared. Representatives of the union visited several of the paper-producing countries of Europe during 1939 and reported in the journal their observations on production methods, wage scales, and union organization in the plants visited. A lengthy history of the trade union movement in the United States and abroad, written by a member of the union, appeared irregularly between 1937 and 1939. The texts of agreements signed by the union are usually published in the journal. During the period before verbatim reports of conventions were published, the journal included the important speeches and discussions in union conventions. Editorials and important documents are usually translated into French for the benefit of the French-Canadian members.

The progress of the important strikes waged by the union can be followed in the correspondence and editorial sections. A widespread strike in northern New York State during 1915-1917, arising out of threatened wage reductions, was finally won by the union, and from that time through 1920 the union won wage increases and union shop contracts from many employers in the industry. A strike to defend these gains was called in all mills of the International Paper Company in 1921 and ended in disaster for the union, though it was not officially called off until 1925.

The union's strength declined further after 1929 and by 1932 it had shrunk to a few thousand members in a handful of long-established locals. After 1933, however, there was a remarkable spread and strengthening of union organization throughout the industry. A substantial union membership was established in all sections of the country, the mills of the International Paper Company were once more brought under contract, and a contract was signed with an association of employers including almost all paper mills on the Pacific Coast. While the primary paper industry was still far from completely organized even in 1941, the union was in a position to develop and apply an industry-wide strategy on wages and other matters. Organization in the paper products industry was much more fragmentary.

The published proceedings of the union's early conventions were rather brief, including usually only the remarks of guest speakers, fraternal greetings from other unions, and a list of the resolutions

presented and the action taken on each. The report of the president-secretary, included for the first time in 1922, usually gave a detailed account of economic developments in the industry, the progress of union organization, the wage policies followed by the international officers since the last convention, the provisions of agreements signed with employers, the progress and outcome of important strikes, relations with other unions and with the national federations, and a wide variety of other matters. Reports by the vice-presidents and the treasurer were added to the proceedings in 1935. The vice-presidents, whose monthly letters to the journal were discussed above, submitted somewhat similar reports to the conventions. The treasurer's report listed the receipts and disbursements of the union, and in addition a listing of assets and depositories was contained in the report of the president-secretary.

The discussion of delegates was reported in full for the first time in 1935. Apart from routine convention business, discussion has centered chiefly on the demands to be presented to employers; on dues, benefit plans, the relation of locals to the international, and the other matters of internal union administration; and on proposals to merge with the Paper Makers or to shift affiliation from the AFL to the CIO. The government of the union has been relatively unmarked by factional rivalry. As regards external relations, there has been occasional friction with the Machinists, Carpenters, and Electricians over the status of skilled maintenance workers in paper mills, and more serious rivalry with the incipient CIO union of paper workers.

STEREOTYPERS' AND ELECTROTYPERS' UNION OF NORTH AMERICA, INTERNATIONAL

Address: 752 Old South Bldg., Boston

I. CHRONOLOGY

1902 Organized after secession of craft from International Typographical Union (*q. v.*). Affiliated with AFL.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
1st-40th ann., 1902-1941 (5th-40th *with* journal)
2. Constitutions.
ann. 1902-1929; 1933; 1934/1935; 1937; 1938/1939; 1941

3. Journal.

Published as: (New York; Philadelphia; Omaha; Denver;
Cleveland)

1906-1941+ : *International Stereotypers & Electrotypers'
Union Journal*

TYPOGRAPHIA, GERMAN-AMERICAN (DEUTSCH-AMERIKANISCHE)

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1873 Organized.
- 1894 Merged with International Typographical Union (*q. v.*) as autonomous unit.
- 1940 Disbanded. Members retained membership in International Typographical Union.

II. PUBLICATIONS

- 1. Jahres-bericht.
22nd-67th, 1894-1940 (60th-67th *with* journal)
- 2. Constitutions.
1884; 1895; 1901; 1908; 1914; 1935
- 3. Journal.
Published as: (Indianapolis)
1873-1886?: *Deutsch-Amerikanische Journal fur
Buchdruckerkunst*
1887?-Sep 1918: *Deutsch-Amerikanische Buchdrucker-
Zeitung*
Oct 1918-Jul 1940: *Buchdrucker-Zeitung* (Ceased
publication)

TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION, INTERNATIONAL

Address: 2820 N. Meridian, Indianapolis

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1852 Organized as National Typographical Union by group of locals which had held national conventions in 1850 and 1851 under name of Journeymen Printers of the United States.
- 1869 Adopted present name.
- 1881 Participated in formation of AFL

- 1889 Seceding faction of pressmen organized International Printing Pressmen's Union (*q. v.*).
- 1892 Seceding faction of bookbinders organized International Brotherhood of Bookbinders (*q. v.*).
- 1894 German-American (Deutsch-Amerikanische) Typographia (*q. v.*) merged with International Typographical Union as autonomous unit.
- 1897 Stereotypers and electrotypers seceded and later organized International Stereotypers' and Electrotypers' Union (*q. v.*).
- 1900 Seceding faction of photoengravers organized International Photo-Engravers Union (*q. v.*).
- 1917 Seceding faction of newspaper writers organized United Writers of America.
- 1939 Suspended by AFL.
- 1940 German-American Typographia disbanded, but members retained membership in International Typographical Union.

II. PUBLICATIONS

(Code Number: T6)

1. Proceedings.
1850; 1851; [1st-5th ann., 1852-1856]; 6th-9th ann., 1857-1860; 10th-41st ann., 1862-1893; 42nd-44th bien., 1894-1898; 45th-64th ann., 1899-1918; 65th-77th ann., 1920-1932; 78th-85th ann., 1934-1941 (42nd-85th *with journal*)
2. Reports.
Officers: 1913-1941 (in conv. years; *with journal*)
3. Constitutions.
ann. 1857-1860; ann. 1862-1866; ann. 1868-1872; ann. 1889-1894; 1896; ann. 1898-1933; ann. 1935-1941
4. Journal.
Published as: (New York; Philadelphia; New York; Indianapolis; Washington; Indianapolis)
1859-1865: *The Printer*
1866-1880: *Printer's Circular*
1881: *American Model Printer*
1882 ? : *Our Organette*
? -Jun 1889: *Craftsman*
Jul 1889-1941+ : *The Typographical Journal*
(The journals listed 1859-Jun 1889 were privately published journals, endorsed by the International Typographical Union as its official organ.)
Editors:
Jul 1889-1893?: W. S. McClevey
1894?-Nov 1896: A. G. Wines
Dec 1896-Feb 1909: J. W. Bramwood
Mar 1909-Nov 1928: J. W. Hays
Dec 1928-1941+ : Woodruff Randolph

III. CRITIQUE OF PUBLICATIONS

Although the Typographical Union was organized in 1852, it published no official journal until 1889. Its reluctance to enter the publishing field on its own account was noted at the 1857 convention, when a committee deputed to consider launching a monthly journal advised "that the establishment of such a journal should be left to private enterprise; that it would be impolitic for this National Union to engage in any business enterprise," but recommended that the union "countenance and support such a journal when established by individual enterprise."

This policy was followed for the next thirty years. At the 1859 convention, an agreement was made with *The Printer*, a New York publication, to print articles and items of general interest to the Typographical Union's membership. The 1863 convention cancelled this arrangement; the following convention renewed it. In 1866 the *Printer's Circular* of Philadelphia was adopted as the official organ, and recommended to local unions "for their favorable consideration." The *Circular* gave way in 1881 to the *American Model Printer* of New York, which was superseded the next year by *Our Organette*, an Indianapolis labor journal. This support failed to insure the survival of the *Organette*, however, and the *Craftsman* of Washington, D. C. took over its subscription lists and official status.

Sentiment for publication of its own journal had always existed within the International Typographical Union, and the proposal was again presented to the 1886 convention, this time with success. Three years later, in July 1889, the international launched *The Typographical Journal*, with the secretary-treasurer as editor.

The form and content of the journal in its early stages can best be described by citing the constitutional provision which established it. It was to be a "paper of four pages . . . non-political and non-sectarian" and "so far as practicable, the International Typographical Union's official organ of communication to subordinate unions." As to content, "it shall contain the substance of appeals and the president's decisions thereon, reports of the auditing committee, balancing of the monthly bank accounts, monthly receipts, disbursements and arrearages, official orders, charters granted, charters suspended, and the causes; shall publish a list of names and addresses of corresponding and financial secretaries of subordinate unions." The journal was also to print notices concerning "the state of trade, . . . changes in the scale of prices, all applica-

tions for membership, and such other matters as may be of interest and importance to the craft generally." Except for the reports on appeals cases and the state of trade and the addresses of local officers, the prescribed items have kept their place in the "Official" and "Financial" sections of the journal up to the present time.

Between 1889 and 1896, during which period the journal was expanded to ten pages, official and financial items comprised half of each issue. The other half consisted of correspondence from local unions; letters from members concerned largely with benefit plans, apprenticeship, and organizing drives; a few editorials and articles on similar subjects; and material reprinted from printing trade publications and the journals of other unions. In 1890 a symposium on "the causes of labor's degradation" brought forth essays from members on such issues as the single tax, socialism, anarchism, tariffs, immigration, and temperance. Though the symposium was abandoned the following year, membership opinion on political and economic problems continued to appear. In October 1890 the journal, until then issued monthly, began semi-monthly publication.

With expansion of the journal to forty pages in 1896, more space was given over to news from local unions and to membership opinion. Local news soon occupied more space in the journal than any other subject, comprising almost half of each issue. Around 1900 the members' letters and articles turned from general political and economic questions to problems of union administration and policy—arbitration, eight-hour campaigns, strikes, division of work, referendums, wage scales. Editorials were replaced by a three-to-four page section of brief "Notes and Comments" on union and labor movement matters. The official and financial sections took up only a fifth of each issue. Election of officers by referendum vote was initiated in 1899 and thereafter complete tabulations of the vote both for elections and amendments to the constitution were recorded in the journal.

In January 1903 the journal again became a monthly magazine, and was increased to 110 pages. Its subject matter remained virtually unchanged, except for the addition of reports of arbitration proceedings between the ITU and the American Newspaper Publishers Association and of meetings of executives of the allied printing trades unions.

Beginning around 1907 news from locals was given an even more preeminent place in the journal and this predominance continued until 1929. Letters pertaining to political and economic issues or to matters of union administration and policy, which had

formerly been intermixed with local news, were placed in a special section headed "Miscellaneous Topics." The portion containing local news, which now consisted solely of accounts of locals' elections, meetings, organizing campaigns, scale negotiations, and social activities, and of personal notes regarding members, was expanded until it occupied more than half of each issue.

In 1914 the size of the journal was increased to 170 pages, with local news absorbing the added space. A "Political Section" made up of letters expressing the views of candidates for international office was inaugurated. Fifteen to twenty pages in length, it appeared in the April and May issues of the journal every two years. Reports of the allied printing trades meetings ceased appearing in 1919, and reports of arbitration proceedings were discontinued in 1922. Sections devoted to news concerning the union label, apprenticeship and vocational education, and personal hygiene were introduced in 1925.

In 1928 a new editor succeeded J. W. Hays who had held the post for almost twenty years. The new editor undertook to discontinue most of the local news currently being carried on the ground that it consisted too largely of "incidents of local personal contact not related to the vital phases of union activities." Membership demand for the publication of local news was sufficiently strong, however, for it to be maintained on a somewhat reduced scale.

The principal effect of the change of editors was to make the *Typographical Journal* more of a sounding board for the opinions of ITU members, officers, and the editor. The "Miscellaneous Topics" section, which had come to contain a large proportion of reprinted material, was replaced with a "Vox Pop" department in which members were encouraged to debate union and public issues. The president's page was expanded, and within the next three years, "pages" by other members of the executive council made their way into the journal. As time went on, these officers' sections came to occupy more and more space. They afforded a good indication of the opinions of the ITU leadership on both union and national problems during the thirties and early forties. Editorials were once more emphasized. At first these dealt primarily with the obligations of members, the objectives of unionism, and the need for organization. But soon the editor was writing about the depression, unemployment, the National Recovery Administration, the National Labor Relations Act, the Fair Labor Standards Act, the Supreme Court, the AFL-CIO conflict, the ITU's own factional disputes, and finally about World War II.

The other features of the journal—the official and financial departments, the union label section, the political section, the vocational education-apprenticeship section, and the reports of referendums—remained much the same. In 1939 an “Organization Department” was inaugurated “to make available . . . the experiences and problems encountered in jurisdictions throughout the International Union,” but it was soon absorbed into the second vice-president’s page. The union label section was discontinued in 1940.

While the Typographical Union published no journal of its own until 1889, the proceedings of its conventions and annual reports of its officers have been printed since 1857.¹ The early proceedings consisted almost entirely of lists of resolutions and appeals cases, with a notation of the action taken on each but without comments by delegates or officers. The reports of officers (president, secretary-treasurer, corresponding secretary) and committees were very brief, the latter often taking of the form of resolutions. Not until 1900 did speeches to the convention and the discussion of delegates and officers begin to appear, and at no time have the entire convention proceedings been reported verbatim. The reports of committees have continued to consist largely of resolutions and brief recommendations concerning them.

The officers’ reports, however, have been considerably enlarged in number and content. Around 1870 the president’s report, formerly a short chronological account of his organizing and administrative duties, developed into a comprehensive discussion of the problems confronting the international and the local unions, with recommendations for action on them. Organizers’ reports began appearing in 1883, and vice-presidents’ reports were inaugurated in 1886. Between 1886 and 1904 each craft group within the ITU was represented on the international executive board by a vice-president. These vice-presidents reported on the organizing activities and problems of their crafts, and in some cases discussed general issues facing the ITU. After 1905, with the exception of vice-presidents representing the German-American Typographia and the mailers’ locals, the vice-presidents were elected from the membership-at-large. Their reports dealt with their organizing and administrative duties and included discussion of union policies and problems.

As the ITU developed greater administrative control over local unions, as various benefit systems were adopted, and as the finan-

1. There is also extant a copy of proceedings of the 1850 convention of the Journeymen Printers of the United States, which later formed the National Typographical Union.

cial system of the union became more complex, the secretary-treasurer's report was expanded until by 1910 it was by far the longest of the officers' reports. The officers' reports as a whole were by this time usually twice as long as the remainder of the convention proceedings.

In spite of the paucity of discussion in the early proceedings, both they and the officers' reports throw considerable light on the main issue in the Typographical Union before 1890—autonomy of locals as opposed to centralized authority. The international had been set up primarily to serve as a clearing office for members traveling among locals, to issue traveling cards, and to circulate information regarding members found guilty of scabbing. But it soon sought to exert control over local unions' laws, administration and finances, a tendency which was vigorously resisted by the local unions. This struggle can be discerned in resolutions censuring the "interference" of the international, in appeals of locals against decisions of international officers, and in the typical lament of the president in 1867 that subordinate unions permitted the international "to exercise such functions of sovereignty only as they please." The high tide of local autonomy was reached in 1879 when the international was forced to divide up its defense and contingent fund and distribute it among the locals. Soon afterward, however, the international reasserted itself and began gaining financial and administrative authority at the expense of the local unions.

The relation between the ITU and other printing trades is probably the most important problem reflected in its publications. Although compositors have always formed a majority of its membership, the Typographical Union originally claimed jurisdiction over all the technical processes of publishing, and has at one time or another included pressmen, stereotypers and electrotypers, bookbinders, typefounders, photo-engravers, newspaper writers, and mailers. In 1873 the ITU began chartering these non-compositor groups in separate craft locals, and in the nineties allowed them to form trade district unions, each with a representative on the international executive council. In spite of these structural adjustments, the forces of disintegration outweighed those tending to cohesion, and at the same time that new craft groups were being added, older ones began to break away. The pattern was invariably the same; craft-consciousness developed among a craft within the ITU; a group of locals seceded and formed an international union; dual unionism existed for a time; eventually the ITU

surrendered jurisdiction over the craft and recognized the international union which had been established.

Between 1888 and 1903 the ITU lost the pressmen, bookbinders, stereotypers and electrotypers, and photo-engravers. It had ceased organizing typefounders in the nineties. It relinquished jurisdiction over newspaper writers in 1923, and was then left with only compositors and mailers. An attempt in 1927 to abolish the mailers' trade district union (organized in 1903) created a long period of dissension between the district and the international, and within the district itself. A proposal to withdraw from the ITU and form a mailers' international was approved by a small majority of mailers in 1938. The compositor members of the union, however, voted against allowing the mailers to withdraw, and since many of the mailers doubted their ability to maintain an international union without the support of the ITU, the mailers remained within the Typographical Union.

As a result of the various secession movements, a group of printing trades unions existed where one had before, and it soon became evident that some sort of agreement among the crafts would be necessary to prevent friction and promote effective action. In 1895 the ITU entered into a tri-partite agreement with the pressmen and bookbinders, which was superseded in 1903 by a four-way agreement including the stereotypers. Local allied trades councils were formed and a national Joint Board of Appeals was set up to settle disputes among the local units. In 1911 the International Allied Printing Trades Association, which included the photo-engravers, was established to exercise joint ownership and control over the allied printing trades label. The Typographical Union has always played a leading role in the Association, since it has as many representatives as the other four internationals combined.

The general purpose of these agreements was to provide for cooperative action in matters involving jurisdiction, strikes, collective agreements, and control of the allied label. In spite of agreements and alliances, however, dissension frequently arose among the printing unions. This dissension sometimes resulted in sentiment for a merger or closer federation of the internationals, and sometimes in threats by the ITU to reassert jurisdiction over all workers in the printing industry or to resume sole ownership rights in the allied label.

In 1894 the German-American Typographia, a national union with jurisdiction over printers working on German-language publications, merged with the International Typographical Union.

The Typographia functioned as a semi-autonomous unit within the ITU, maintaining its own officers, by-laws, working rules, financial system, and benefit features, until 1940 when it disbanded. Some mention of the Typographia appears in the ITU proceedings and reports, but almost nothing about it is to be found in the *Typographical Journal*, probably because the Typographia published its own official organ, the *Buchdrucker-Zeitung*, until July 1940.

The struggles of rival groups for control of the union's administration are also clearly evident in its publications. Soon after the referendum system of electing international officers was adopted in 1899, two rival parties emerged, each with a slate of candidates and a platform. This development was not reflected in the journal until about 1910, but from that time on an increasing amount of space was devoted to the arguments of the two factions.

In 1920 the Conservative or Administration party, which had been in control since the beginning of the century, lost the presidency to a Progressive (anti-administration) candidate. Eight years later the Progressive party succeeded in capturing all the positions on the executive council, and remained in full control until 1938. At that time the Independent party, which in the early thirties had replaced the Conservatives as the opposition party, won the presidency and a vice-presidency. As a result, the membership of the executive council was evenly divided between the parties. This situation continued through 1941 and gave rise to much recrimination in the officers' pages of the journal.

The issues between the opposing parties were never very clearly drawn, but in general the Progressives claimed to favor maximum autonomy of local unions and stringent economy in the management of international finances, while the Conservatives favored greater authority for the international and larger expenditures of union funds. The Progressives and Independents clashed chiefly over issues growing out of the relation of the mailers' locals to the international and the relation of the ITU to the AFL and the CIO. The Progressives wished to abolish the mailers' trade district union and bring the mailers' locals directly under the international. The Independents wished to maintain the district and increase its autonomy, as had the Conservatives before them. The "mailer problem" was complicated by the role which the mailer locals played in the party strife. Voting in a bloc, they could often "deliver the vote" for the anti-Progressive candidates.

When the CIO was formed in 1935, President Charles P. Howard of the ITU became its secretary. The executive council, composed entirely of Progressives, and the editorial policy

of the journal in general supported the CIO and became increasingly critical of the AFL. When the AFL convention in 1938 authorized a special assessment to be levied on Federation affiliates, the ITU leaders urged the membership to refuse payment on the ground that the action violated the autonomy of the international unions. This became the major issue of the 1938 and 1940 elections, but although the membership elected an Independent president, whose party advocated payment of the assessment, the members voted to refuse payment. This position was maintained in spite of the AFL's suspension of the ITU in 1939.

Advances in printing technology have raised serious economic problems for the International Typographical Union. Confronted with introduction of the linotype machine in the nineties, the union formulated a policy toward technological change which it has maintained ever since. The policy is, in effect, that the union accepts new machines and processes but insists that its members operate them. To provide an adequate supply of competent printers, the union has set up apprenticeship requirements and has offered and sponsored vocational courses. To mitigate the effects of technological unemployment, the ITU has adopted various systems of seniority and division of work, and has continually campaigned for shorter hours. It waged nation-wide strikes in 1906-1907 for the eight-hour day and again in 1921-1923 for the forty-four-hour week.

The ITU has endeavored to avoid strikes by strict observance of collective agreements and by extensive use of arbitration. ITU officers have consistently refused to authorize strikes which violate existing contracts, although the multiplicity of unions within the printing industry has created conditions conducive to sympathetic strikes. Arbitration proceedings on a local scale were begun in the nineties, and from 1901 to 1922 the ITU maintained an agreement with the American Newspaper Publishers Association providing for settlement of disputed local cases by national representatives of the union and the Association. The national agreement was abrogated in 1922 when the union refused to allow its laws and working rules to become arbitrable matters, but arbitration of newspaper disputes has been widely continued on a local basis.

The ITU has been extremely active since 1891 in promoting its own and the allied printing trades' union label. The label has become the ITU's major organizing tool. Through sustained efforts to induce the public to "demand the label on your print-

ing," the union has sought to induce employers to enter into contractual relations with it on penalty of losing at least part of their market.

The Typographical Union has also attempted through benefit programs to assist its members in providing against the risks of death, illness, old age, and unemployment. A death benefit plan was inaugurated in 1892 and a pension plan was put into effect in 1908. Local unions have set up various death, pension, sickness, and unemployment benefit systems. To aid in the task of caring for its aged and disabled members, the ITU in 1893 established the Union Printers' Home, and later added a hospital. In an attempt to prevent sickness among its members, the union since 1896 has waged a campaign to improve sanitary conditions and eliminate health hazards in printing shops. It has cooperated with government and private agencies and has instituted educational and research activities on its own account in an effort to stamp out tuberculosis, the principal occupational disease among printers.

WALL PAPER CRAFTSMEN AND WORKERS OF NORTH AMERICA, UNITED

Address: 426 N. Beaver St., York, Pa.

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1923 Organized as result of merger of National Association of Machine Printers and Color Mixers (*q. v.*) with National Print Cutters' Association (*q. v.*). Affiliated with AFL as United Wall Paper Crafts of North America.
- 1937 Adopted present name.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
2nd, 1926; 3rd, 1929; 1941
2. Constitutions.
1923; 1929; 1935; 1938

CHAPTER 10

Clothing and Textiles

BOOT AND SHOE CUTTERS' NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, KNIGHTS OF LABOR

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1907 Organized.
1912 Absorbed by United Shoe Workers of America, 1909 (*q. v.*).

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
1st-4th ann., 1907-1910
2. Constitutions.
ann. 1907-1910

BOOT AND SHOE WORKERS' UNION

Address: 246 Summer St., Boston

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1889 Organized under name of Boot and Shoe Workers' International Union by seceding locals of Shoe Workers' National Trade Assembly, Knights of Labor (organized 1884). Affiliated with AFL.
- 1895 Merged with Lasters' Protective Union of America (*q. v.*) and other locals of Shoe Workers' National Trade Assembly under present name.
- 1899 Seceding faction in Haverhill, Mass., organized Shoe Workers' Protective Union (*q. v.*).

II. PUBLICATIONS (Code Number: B2)

1. Proceedings.
1894; 1st-3rd ann., 1895-1897 (2 edns); 4th, 1899; 5th-7th bien., 1902-1906; 8th-15th bien., 1907-1921; 16th, 1925; 17th, 1929; 18th, 1939; 19th, 1941 (9th, 12th-17th *with* journal)
2. Constitutions.
ann. 1889-1893; ann. 1895-1897; 1899?; bien. 1902-1906; bien. 1907-1921; bien. 1925-1929; 1933; 1939

3. Journal.

Published as: (Boston)

1900-Jun 1902: *The Union Boot and Shoe Worker*

Jul 1902-1941+: *The Shoe Workers' Journal*

(Suspended 1934-Mar 1935 and 1938-1940.)

Editors:

1900-Mar 1902: Horace M. Eaton

Apr 1902-Jan 1931: Charles L. Baine

Feb-Dec 1931: E. W. A. O'Dell

1932-1941+: John J. Mara

III. CRITIQUE OF PUBLICATIONS

The Boot and Shoe Workers' International Union was organized in 1889 by locals which had seceded from the Shoe Workers' National Trade Assembly of the Knights of Labor. Six years later this union merged with the remaining locals of the Knights of Labor Assembly and with another early organization in the industry, the Lasters' Protective Union of America, to form the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union. Both the Boot and Shoe Workers' International Union and the Lasters' Protective Union had held charters from the AFL, and the new union immediately affiliated with the federation.

Under the leadership of John F. Tobin, who carried many of his supporters into office with him when he became president in 1897, the union strengthened its organization and was soon securely established. Tobin and his following revealed themselves in the union's journal as idealists whose primary concern was to increase wages and decrease hours of work, but who advocated cooperative rather than antagonistic attitudes toward the employer. They expressed sympathy for the manufacturer's problems and spoke of their membership as partners in his business.

There was at first strong pressure within the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union for support of the Socialist Labor party, but a majority of delegates to the conventions was always unwilling to pledge votes. The dominant philosophy rejected the ideas of this party, but at the same time condemned competition as the scourge of civilization and envisioned a cooperative commonwealth.

In 1898 the union developed a collective bargaining policy to which it has adhered in general ever since. In that year W. E. Douglas, a Massachusetts shoe manufacturer, suggested to the Boot and Shoe Workers a scheme of collective agreements with provision for arbitration of disputes. An employer was to be permitted to use the union label on condition that he sign a union shop agreement. The union undertook not to strike during the life of

the agreement. Grievances were to be submitted to arbitrators whose decisions would be binding. The employer was to be deprived of the label for any breach of contract, while local unions which violated the agreement were to suffer severe disciplinary action. No standard wages or working conditions were required of the label user. This was intended to facilitate the organization of substandard plants where conditions were worst and opposition to unionism strongest. The use of the label, union leaders argued, would increase the plant's sales and thus make higher wages and improved conditions possible in ensuing seasons. The union guaranteed a stable wage scale and uninterrupted operation for an entire year, and anticipated the advancement of its interests at a reasonable pace from season to season. The Douglas plan was compatible with the economic and social philosophy of the Boot and Shoe Workers, for it harmonized with their belief in the gradual attainment of their goals and their willingness to co-operate with the employer.

Although the basic policy adopted at that time was never repudiated, the union's attitude toward employers underwent a gradual transformation during the first decade of the twentieth century. Experience demonstrated that some manufacturers, who had signed an agreement when threatened with a strike, later ignored the provisions of the agreement while expecting the union to live up to its no-strike bargain. This behavior on the part of employers developed a rank-and-file cynicism which provoked much internal strife. Under pressure from the membership, union leaders finally adopted more militant tactics than they had previously used for the enforcement of union agreements. The union still maintained its policy of considering each employer's economic condition and cooperating with him to improve it, instead of attempting to standardize conditions rapidly throughout all union plants. There was a marked modification, however, of the early idealistic economic philosophy which condemned competition and foresaw a cooperative millenium. The union was strongly influenced by its affiliation with the AFL and soon absorbed many of the AFL attitudes.

The union's early years were beset also with internal problems, of which the most pressing were lack of funds and an undisciplined membership. In 1900 the international officers finally overcame the vigorous opposition of many years and secured high dues and increased power for the international. The centering of control in the international, the achievement of financial stability, and continued reliance on arbitration were viewed by the union's leaders as the chief pillars of its strength.

After 1903, the security of the international was again threatened by numerous factional conflicts and secessions. The 1907 election of union officers was bitterly contested. Officers were at this time elected by referendum, a system which frequently gave rise to charges of fraud. Several elections were taken to court, where the international officers were absolved of charges made by groups in the union. The 1907 election, however, was contested on the floor of the convention. Several members were penalized as a result of the contest and the international officers, their majority affirmed, again absolved. In spite of the seriousness of the struggle the international apparently suffered no permanent injury. Locals which had seceded as a result of the controversy returned and new ones joined. Soon after the 1907 difficulties, however, the union abandoned the referendum system and substituted convention elections to prevent recurrence of such disputes.

In 1909 factions and secessions began to reappear. Many seceders turned to the Knights of Labor in hope of a more militant policy than that of no strikes and collaboration with the employer. The IWW seems also to have contributed to the growth of internal conflict. Its competition evoked from the journal strong criticisms of its radical philosophy. Some of the seceding groups and factional critics within the union now declared that the election of officers by conventions was undemocratic. Other members, however, recalled the previous difficulties under the referendum system and also argued that it had operated to give disproportionate power to the large locals. Factional strife continued to characterize the history of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, as well as other unions in the shoe industry, for many years. After 1924 reports of conflict were less frequent in the journal, but the fact that the union had a long history of internal dissension helped to provide an opening in later years for rival organization by the CIO.

When the journal was young, its editorials, articles, and letters were concerned mainly with discussion of social and economic problems. Its only material from other sources was general information distributed by trade unions and the federal government. During the election controversies many of the members exchanged personal insults in the columns of the journal. After about a decade of social and economic idealism, the journal began to devote more space to articles on the duties of members and criticisms of particular independent unions. The journal also strongly supported the union label movement.

The Boot and Shoe Workers' Union accepted World War I with patriotic declarations accompanied by a "Let's not forget ourselves" attitude. It clamored for army contracts and complained

bitterly when non-union and prison-labor firms received them. Otherwise it commented little on the war. The journal inveighed against the great anti-union drive of the twenties and such accompaniments of this drive as the injunction and the yellow-dog contract. During this period the journal frequently explained and defended the policies of the AFL. In the twenties and thirties it constantly condemned Bata, the Czech manufacturer, for his labor policies and his practice of dumping shoes on the American market. During the depression of the thirties the journal carried original and reprinted articles which attempted to explain unemployment and offer remedies for it. The journal itself felt the effects of the depression. It was suspended for three years, but reappeared in time to criticize the National Recovery Administration on the ground that it had not benefited the shoe workers.

The union's journal was more informative than its convention proceedings. The reports of the president and the secretary-treasurer, which were conducted in 1917, reviewed for each convention the problems which the union had to solve and gave an account of its financial condition; but the discussion of delegates was usually only summarized or omitted altogether. The journal often reported decisions made at the conventions and included, with rebuttal comment, criticisms of both the union and its officers which it found published elsewhere.

Delegates to the 1941 convention voiced their belief in the necessity of working as a political pressure group, their opposition to the National Labor Relations Board—which they considered prejudiced—and to the CIO, which had raided their organization. They reiterated their demands for a high tariff on shoes, but no tariff on hides. No important changes in the policy of cooperation with employers were accepted by the convention.

CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA, AMALGAMATED

Address: 15 Union Square, New York

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1914 Organized by seceding faction of tailors' and cutters' locals of United Garment Workers of America (*q. v.*). Absorbed Tailors' Industrial Union (*q. v.*).
- 1915 Tailors' Industrial Union withdrew and adopted name of Journeymen Tailors' Union of America (*q. v.*).
- 1933 Affiliated with AFL.

- 1935 Absorbed Journeymen Tailors' Union of America. Participated in formation of CIO.
- 1936 Suspended by AFL.
- 1938 Expelled from AFL.

II. PUBLICATIONS (Code Number: C5)

- 1. Proceedings.
1st, 1914; 2nd, 1916; 3rd, 1919; 4th-9th bien., 1920-1930;
10th-13th bien., 1934-1940
- 2. Constitutions.
1914; ann. 1916-1918; 1922; 1940
- 3. Journal.
Published as: (New York)
Mar 1917-1941+ : *Advance*
Editors:
Mar 1917-Oct 8, 1926: Joseph Schlossberg
Oct 15, 1926-1941+ : J. B. S. Hardman

III. CRITIQUE OF PUBLICATIONS

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America was formed by the secession of cutters' and tailors' locals from the United Garment Workers of America. At the 1914 convention of the UGW, the union officers refused to seat delegates from the cutters' and tailors' locals on the ground that the latter were in debt to the international. The representatives of these locals claimed that the bills against their locals were fraudulent and manufactured by the national officers to disfranchise them. After they were refused a hearing, they assembled elsewhere and held their own convention. Their second convention was held in December 1914, at which time the new group assumed its present name.

The *Advance* was first published in 1917, but the Amalgamated had previously published *Fortschritt* in Yiddish and *Lavore* in Italian. The form and content of *Advance* rarely varied. Emphasis was placed on editorials and original articles, and the journal seldom reprinted articles from other trade union publications. A frequent contributor was Charles W. Ervin, editor of the *New York Call*, who wrote several series of articles on political and world affairs. The editor or a member of the staff paralleled Ervin with such columns as "So This Is the Week" and "In the Labor Movement, Home and Abroad." *Advance* also offered many articles on art, the theatre, and other cultural subjects, as well as book reviews and biographies of famous men. Although these

occupied most space when there was a dearth of union material, as for example in the middle twenties, they appeared frequently enough to indicate that they were a part of a well-defined policy of workers' education. A short-lived correspondence column was discontinued towards the end of 1925 and letters from members were published only occasionally thereafter.

The editorials were usually of substantial length and extended from Amalgamated affairs to current events, politics, activities of other unions, world affairs, and the international labor movement. *Advance* constantly stressed the need for a labor party which would embrace the entire labor movement in the United States. In 1924, the Amalgamated sent delegates to both the Conference for Progressive Political Action and the Farmer-Labor party convention.

During the early years of the union, editorials and convention speeches had a socialist character. Though they gave some consideration to proposals for reforming capitalism, they stressed the complete elimination of the capitalist system, and were echoed by many articles on the class struggle, the evils of capitalism, and the social, political, and economic structure of the United States and other countries. In the 1918 convention official endorsement of the Socialist party was proposed. Despite the fact that the Amalgamated had worked for and supported the Socialists, the majority of the delegates felt that official endorsement should not be extended while some members opposed it. Unwilling, however, to oppose endorsement, they referred the resolution back to committee. In 1932 members were urged to voice the workers' protest with a Socialist vote.

At various times, particularly during 1926-1927, 1929, and 1932-1933, the Communists (Workers' party) attempted to capture the Amalgamated or secure its support. The conflicts which developed within locals between Socialists and Communists were firmly stamped out by the international officers, who would not risk the weakening of their organization by political factions. More criticism seems to have been leveled at the Communists, however, than at the Socialists.

As the Amalgamated grew older, the socialist fervor of *Advance* waned. It printed fewer and fewer discussions of class conflict and finally declared that the true aim of the trade union movement should not be the overthrow of capitalism. The change in the union's attitude may be illustrated by a comparison of its constitutions of 1914 and 1940. The preamble to the constitution of 1914 read, in part:

"The class owning those means [of production] is the one that is ruling, the class that possesses nothing but its labor power, which is always on the market as a commodity, is the one that is being ruled. . . . The industrial and inter-industrial organization, built upon the solid rock of clear knowledge and class consciousness, will put the organized working class in actual control of the system of production, and the working class will then be ready to take possession of it."

The constitution of 1940 has no preamble, but it presents a list of objects, among which are:

"To improve the wages and hours of work, to increase the job security and to better the working and living conditions of its members; to establish and maintain collective bargaining throughout the trades and industries within its jurisdiction; to defend and extend democratic institutions and procedures and the civil rights and liberties of its members and all others."

For some time after its secession from the United Garment Workers the Amalgamated felt the consequences of dual unionism. The Amalgamated frequently accused the UGW of strike-breaking, and *Advance* reported many instances in which the UGW provided workers for plants where Amalgamated members were on strike and even signed agreements with the employers involved.

The problem of administering a large industrial union, made up of such different craft groups as tailors, cutters, pressers, pants makers, shirt makers, and coat makers, has been reflected in the union journal. The Amalgamated early adopted a system of government under which local unions in a particular market send representatives to a joint board, which organizes, coordinates, and supervises the activities of its affiliates. Centralization of administration and protection of the principle of industrial unionism are secured by a rule which gives precedence to the by-laws of the joint board over those of a local union in case of conflict. The activities of the joint boards have been reported in the journal. From 1929 to 1932 many editorials stressed the need for increased centralization in union management and cited as an example of effective centralized management the control department in New York, which acts for all locals to prevent the letting out of work to non-union contractors. In many cases editorials suggested the merging of two or more local unions—for example, two tailors' locals in the same area.

The Amalgamated is well known for its broad view of the clothing industry and its close attention to problems of production, pricing, and marketing. As early as 1924 it began to study working

methods, labor efficiency, and costs in union plants in order to assist management in meeting the competition of non-union employers.

In many plants it has taken over most of the work of making time-studies and setting wage rates for piece-work operations. In 1939 it introduced a stabilization plan, designed to equalize labor costs among competing manufacturers, which involved a large amount of union control over production and competition. Although the stabilization plan was announced in the journal, it was not labeled "union-management cooperation" nor was this interpretation emphasized. Conflict of opinion within the membership concerning the functions of a trade union, and particularly concerning the extent to which unions should cooperate with management, seems to have been the reason for the officers' wariness of this term. Letters to the editor in 1925 had accused the international officers of "class collaboration" because they had negotiated an agreement with "Golden Rule" Nash of Cincinnati, whose firm was known for its welfare plan, efficiency system, and bonus scheme. Other letters during 1925, the only period in which the journal had a correspondence section, charged union officials with incipient conservatism and provoked the editor's rebuttal that the labor movement was not an instrument for revolutionary change.

Because of the Amalgamated's concern with all aspects of the clothing industry, much information on the economic characteristics and problems of the industry appeared in articles on the difficulties involved in setting wage rates, the question of piece-work *versus* time-work, the characteristics of particular firms in the industry, and the economic structure of the industry as a whole.

The contracting and sub-contracting system has presented serious control problems for the union. Even union employers attempt to send out work to non-union contractors if the union is not watchful. The greatest single problem is to locate the contractors, whose small size and high mobility make them difficult to trace. In 1927 the Amalgamated made an arrangement whereby members of the New York Express Drivers' local of the Teamsters' Union reported to the union the names and addresses of firms sending work to non-union contractors. The effectiveness of the control department in this connection has been mentioned above.

The Amalgamated has developed many auxiliary activities, and the journal has devoted a great deal of space to them. The union has financed a large cooperative housing project in New York, established credit unions, and founded banks in Chicago and New York. After an extended lockout in 1928 in Milwaukee, the

Amalgamated opened a shop of its own to give employment to the strikers; the Hart, Schaffner and Marx firm provided work for the shop on a contract basis. In 1932 this shop closed because of business conditions, and a cooperative enterprise was set up by individual workers. In 1921 the Amalgamated underwrote several thousand dollars' worth of securities for a Baltimore firm, made concessions in labor cost to enable the firm to continue in operation, and participated for years in the management of the business. The New York Amalgamated Bank loaned money to a Rochester clothing manufacturer after which other banks followed. During the early twenties the Amalgamated collected substantial sums of money for Russian famine relief. In 1923 it formed the Russian-American Industrial Corporation, to which members subscribed one million dollars and received shares in nine clothing and textile factories in Russia. The corporation participated in the management of these factories and was given preference in orders placed by the Russian government in the purchase of raw materials and in the export business of Russia.

The Amalgamated has always conducted a varied program of workers' education. The journal has frequently run correspondence courses in trade unionism, history, and economics; the union has published books for distribution to members; and sponsored such cultural activities as dramatics and music clubs. Most of the local union headquarters have recreational facilities and a library.

The main feature of the Amalgamated's convention proceedings has been the report of the general executive board. The report gives a detailed account of union activities since the last conventions, including a history of all strikes, organizing campaigns, agreements, injunction proceedings, and activities of the locals in each market. It includes also a discussion of such union problems of dues and assessments, and of labor legislation, and national affairs. Speeches by officers of the union, by officers of other unions, by public officials such as the Secretary of Labor, and by friends of the union occupy a large part of the time of conventions. Discussion by delegates is not extensive and rarely indicates differences of opinion. The proceedings of 1922, 1924, and 1926 included appendixes prepared by the research department of the union, which contained statistics of membership, strikes, lockouts, agreements, and arbitration decisions.

FUR AND LEATHER WORKERS UNION OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA, INTERNATIONAL

Address: 251 Fourth Ave., New York

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1939 Organized as result of merger of International Fur Workers Union of the United States and Canada (*q. v.*) with National Leather Workers' Association, each of the former organizations forming a division of the new international. Affiliated with CIO.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
1st, 1940 (Leather Division)
2. Constitutions.
1939 (Fur Division); 1940 (Leather Division)
3. Journal.
Published as: (New York)
1939-1941+: *Fur and Leather Worker*

FUR WORKERS' UNION OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA, INTERNATIONAL

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1912 Organized.
- 1913 Affiliated with AFL.
- 1927 Expelled faction of New York locals organized Fur Workers' Industrial Union, a department of Needle Trades Workers' Industrial Union, affiliated with Trade Union Unity League.
- 1935 Absorbed Fur Workers' Industrial Union.
- 1937 Withdrew from AFL and affiliated with CIO.
- 1939 Merged with National Leather Workers' Association to form International Fur and Leather Workers Union of the United States and Canada (*q. v.*).

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
[1st, 1913; 2nd, 1915]; 3rd, 1917; 4th, 1919; 5th, 1922; 6th, 1924; 8th, 1927; 9th, 1930; 11th-13th bien., 1935-1939

2. Constitutions.

1913; bien. 1918-1924; 1927; 1936; 1938

3. Journal.

Published as: (Long Island City, N. Y.)

Oct 3, 1916-Aug 1930: *The Fur Worker*Nov 1930-Apr 1931: *The Fur Workers' Hope*Jul 1937-Jul 1939: *The Fur Worker*

(Suspended May 1929-Jan 1930; May 1931-Jun 1937. NS,

Jul 1937. Ceased publication Jul 1939.)

FUR WORKERS OF UNITED STATES AND CANADA INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF

I. CHRONOLOGY

1904 Affiliated with AFL.

1911 Withdrew from AFL.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.

[1st, 1904; 2nd, 1905]; 3rd, 1906; 4th, 1908 (3rd, 4th with journal)

2. Constitutions.

ann. 1904-1906; 1908

3. Journal.

Published as: (Toronto, Ont.)

Dec 1905-1908?: *Furrier's Journal*

GARMENT WORKERS OF AMERICA, UNITED

Address: 45 Astor Place, New York

I. CHRONOLOGY

1891 Organized as result of merger of Tailors National Protective Union with District Assembly No. 231, Knights of Labor. Affiliated with AFL.

1903 Merged with Special Order Clothingmakers' Union.

1909 Shirt workers in Shirt, Waist and Laundry Workers International Union (*q. v.*) transferred to United Garment Workers.

1914 Seceding faction organized Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America (*q. v.*).

II. PUBLICATIONS (Code Number: G1)

1. Proceedings.
1892; 5th, 1895; 6th-13th ann. 1897-1904; 14th-18th bien., 1906-1914; 19th, 1918; 20th, 1922; 21st, 1927; 22nd, 1937 (5th, 7th, 8th, 10th-12th *with journal*)
2. Reports.
Secretary-Treasurer: 1897; ann. 1899-1903
3. Constitutions.
1891; ann. 1898-1904; bien. 1906-1914; bien. 1918-1922; 1927; 1935; 1937
4. Journal.
Published as: (New York)
Apr 1893-Aug 1903: *The Garment Worker*
Feb 18, 1903-Oct 18, 1912: *The Weekly Bulletin*
Oct 25, 1912-1941+: *The Garment Worker*
(Until Sep 2, 1903 *The Weekly Bulletin* was jointly sponsored by United Garment Workers and other clothing trades unions, but thereafter was published solely by United Garment Workers.)
Editors:
1895-Jul 15, 1904: Henry White
Jul 22-Oct 7, 1904: No editor listed
Oct 14, 1904-May 18, 1906: J. W. Sullivan
May 25, 1906-1909: S. L. Landers
1910-Jun 22, 1928: B. A. Larger
Jun 29, 1928-Jun 8, 1934: J. L. Wines
Jun 15, 1934-1941+: T. A. Rickert

III. CRITIQUE OF PUBLICATIONS

The United Garment Workers of America was formed in 1891 by a convention of some fifty local unions of cutters and tailors from the Knights of Labor and the Tailors National Protective Union. *The Garment Worker*, official journal of the union, was established in 1893. The most outstanding feature of the journal was the absence of news and discussion of UGW affairs. The greater part of the journal consisted of news articles reprinted from other sources and lists of union label firms. Original material appeared chiefly in three or four editorials of substantial length in each issue. Both editorials and news articles were concerned primarily with developments in the American labor movement as a whole rather than with the activities and problems of the garment workers.

With respect to the subject matter of editorials, the journal's history may be divided into four periods: 1902-1909, 1910-1919, 1920-1926, and 1927-1940. During the first period, editorials were devoted largely to a defense of trade unionism. *The Trade Record*, published by the garment manufacturers' association, conducted during this period a campaign of vilification against trade unions in general and the United Garment Workers in particular. Practically every issue of the *Garment Worker* contained an editorial answering the charges of the trade journal. There were also articles attacking the anti-union tactics of employers and their associations.

From 1910 to 1919, editorials discussed a wide variety of subjects of interest to the labor movement, including prison labor, the union label, immigration, tariffs, industrial accidents, the income tax, legislation (state maximum hour laws for women, workmen's compensation, seamen's legislation, mothers' pensions), child labor, the McNamara and Mooney-Billings cases, injunctions, court decisions in the Danbury Hatters and Buck Stove and Range cases, the Colorado coal strikes and other major strikes, and such World War developments as government operation of railroads and means of communication, the National War Labor Board, and the attempt to prevent strikes in wartime.

After the war, editorials were once more concerned mainly with meeting the open shop drive carried on by employers and employers' associations during the early twenties. There was frequent discussion of the philosophy and objectives of trade unionism, the duties of union members, the need for "organization, agitation, education," the necessity of maintaining wage rates, such employer tactics as the hiring of private detectives and promotion of company unions, and Supreme Court decisions which were viewed as injurious to labor. Editorials were more militant in their attitude against the anti-union employer than they had been in the period 1902-1909.

After 1926 the journal began again to discuss a wider range of subjects, including strikes of various unions, the nomination of Judge Parker for the Supreme Court, the southern organizing campaign of the AFL, arguments against wage reduction during the 1929-1933 depression, the National Industrial Recovery Act, the Social Security Act, taxation of the rich, and the problem of unemployment. During this period, however, editorials tended to become shorter and fewer. This was particularly true from 1933-1940, during which time reprinted articles frequently appeared on the editorial page. During this period, also, there appeared

what might be termed "report" materials, such as summaries of speeches by political and labor leaders, reports of government agencies, provisions of proposed legislation, and AFL Executive Council reports. Two columns of comment on politics and world affairs also appeared on the editorial page.

The types of material reprinted from other sources reflected the policy of the journal, which was that of a general labor publication rather than a journal confining itself to the affairs of a particular union. From 1910-1920, general labor news was taken from newspapers, other trade union journals, and *The Federationist*. Reports of government agencies, such as state factory inspection departments and the Commission on Industrial Relations, and court decisions were also printed in full. From 1921-1934 almost the entire journal consisted of news items provided by the International Labor News Service. In 1935 the International Labor News Service was supplanted by the AFL News Service.

Discussion of union affairs in the journal was confined largely to promotion of the union label, strikes, jurisdictional disputes, and dual unionism. Until about 1910 the union's organizing activity consisted very largely of selling the label to employers and advertising the label to consumers. Label advertising in street cars and on bill boards was abandoned in 1905 as a result of opposition from members who felt that the money should be used to hire organizers. Not until about 1910, however, was there much evidence in the journal of direct organizing activity, and even after this date the journal reported only an occasional organizing drive. In 1910 the workers at Hart, Schaffner and Marx were organized by direct methods, and in 1912 a large mass meeting was held in New York for organizing purposes.

Strikes of the garment workers were not described in detail. They were seldom headlined in the general news section of the journal and were mentioned chiefly in editorials. Strike news was often taken from local newspapers, and frequently a strike was not mentioned until it had been in progress for a month or more. The strikes of other unions received more attention in the editorial section than did the strikes of the garment workers.

Serious jurisdictional disputes occurred between the UGW and the Journeymen Tailors' Union. In spite of this fact, a proposal to amalgamate the two unions was rejected in 1906 by a referendum vote of the membership. From 1905-1908 there were jurisdictional disputes with the Shirt, Waist, and Laundry Workers Union, which ended when this organization affiliated with the UGW in 1908.

The organization of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America by a group of seceding locals in 1914, and the dual unionism which resulted, were discussed extensively in the journal. The United Garment Workers charged that the secession resulted mainly from raising of the racial issue by a faction among the tailors. It also charged the Amalgamated with breaking its strikes with the aid of "thugs and hired gunmen." The counter-charges of the Amalgamated have been noted in the description of its publications. The letters from locals contained in the journal consisted chiefly of personal and social notes, though there was occasional brief mention of union meetings and elections of officers.

Union conventions were held annually from 1891 to 1904, biennially from 1906 to 1914, and subsequently in 1918, 1922, 1927, and 1937. The proceedings included reports of union officers, summaries of reports from local unions, speeches to the convention, texts and discussion of resolutions, and reports of the committees on grievances, resolutions, and officers' reports. Committee reports were always printed verbatim and remarks by the president were usually printed in full. Speeches and discussion by delegates were summarized briefly until 1922, and were published partly verbatim and partly by summary in 1927 and 1937.

The president's and secretary's reports were short until 1903. They contained an account of these officers' journeys about the country to promote use of the union label, brief reports on strikes, and recommendations for convention action on constitutional amendments and other matters. Between 1904 and 1912 the reports were somewhat fuller, containing, in addition to the above matters, remarks on child labor, prison labor, union benefit plans, and jurisdictional disputes. Between 1914 and 1937 the reports contained even more discussion of union problems and activities, including reports on collective bargaining negotiations, texts of agreements, discussions of legislation, and accounts of factional conflicts, relations with locals, and the secession movement. The president's reports during this period contained lengthy discussions of the events preceding the convention of 1914, at which the secession took place, the events of the convention itself, and the results of the secession. The proceedings of the 1914 convention were not recorded verbatim, and what actually occurred can be judged only by comparing the statements of the two parties to the dispute. The published proceedings merely mentioned that certain delegates requested the floor during the reading of the report of the credentials committee, and that some delegates had left the hall.

The secretary's reports, except in 1927 and 1937, contained a detailed account of the union's receipts and disbursements. The financial reports for 1927 and 1937 contained only the balance on hand at the time of the preceding convention and at the time of the report, and an inventory of assets. In addition, itemized reports of receipts and disbursements appeared monthly in *The Garment Worker* from 1898-1903.

Summaries of reports from local unions appeared in the proceedings for 1898 and 1904-1914. These gave brief accounts of the condition of the local, the state of trade in the area, and strikes in which the local was involved. Such matters as relations between locals and the allocation of money for organizing purposes were also mentioned occasionally.

Reports of the executive board were published from 1910 to 1922. They discussed such subjects as initiation fees, tariffs, the union label, collective bargaining, and jurisdictional disputes. In 1927 and 1937 a single officers' report was submitted to the convention, which contained the material previously included in the reports of the president, the secretary, and executive board.

GARMENT WORKERS' UNION, INTERNATIONAL LADIES'

Address: 3 W. 16th St., New York

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1900 Organized by group of cloak unions, principally United Brotherhood of Cloak Makers of New York. Affiliated with AFL.
- 1935 Participated in formation of CIO.
- 1936 Suspended by AFL.
- 1938 Withdrew from CIO.
- 1940 Reinstated in AFL.

II. PUBLICATIONS (Code Number: G2)

1. Proceedings.
[1st, 1900]; 2nd-9th ann., 1901-1908; 10th-17th bien., 1910-1924; 18th, 1925; 19th, 1928; 20th, 1929; 21st, 1932; 22nd, 1934; 23rd, 1937; 24th, 1940
2. Reports.
President and Secretary Treasurer: 1904
Financial Report: 1916-1940 (in conv. years)
General Executive Board: 1920-1940 (in conv. years)

3. Constitutions.

1902; 1903; ann. 1909-1912; bien. 1914-1918; 1922; 1924; 1932; 1934; 1937; 1940

4. Journal.

Published as: (New York)

Apr 1910-1918: *The Ladies' Garment Worker*

1919-1941+: *Justice*

(NS, 1919)

Editors:

Apr 1910-Jun 1914: John A. Dyche

Jul 1914-1918: No editor listed

1919-Dec 11, 1925: Saul Yanofsky

Dec 25, 1925-Feb 22, 1929: Max D. Danish

Mar 15-Apr 12, 1929: A. Rosebury

May 24, 1929-1941+: D. B. Hoffman

III. CRITIQUE OF PUBLICATIONS

The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union was formed in 1899 by a merger of existing locals in New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Chicago. The official organ of the union was entitled *The Ladies' Garment Worker* from 1910 to 1918 and *Justice* from 1919 through 1941.

The Ladies' Garment Worker, a monthly magazine, contained editorials; signed articles by union officers, organizers and members of the magazine staff; reports of the monthly meeting of the general executive board; occasional letters from members; and a section devoted to the problems and activities of local unions. The articles, though based on current developments in the union, were analytical discussions rather than news reports. Accounts of strikes, for example, emphasized the issues involved, the employer's labor policies, the union's position, and the significance of the strike; the actual events of the strike were mentioned only briefly if at all. Again, organizers' reports were usually lengthy discussions of union policy rather than itineraries of the organizers' movements.

Since the entire journal had an editorial aspect, the subjects discussed in editorials cannot be separated from those discussed in other sections. Among the issues most frequently mentioned were representation in union conventions, dues, the negotiation and enforcement of collective agreements, strikes, the merits of piecework as compared with time-work, the desirability of equal division of work, contracting and subcontracting, conservative *versus* radical unionism, and other aspects of trade union philosophy and tactics.

Justice was published as a weekly newspaper except from 1928 to 1934, during which period the format and frequency of publication were changed several times. Editorials, a news section, and feature articles were the main elements in the journal throughout.

From 1919 to 1930 editorials were lengthy and analytical. They discussed the provisions of a collective agreement, the results of an organizing drive, the advisability of a strike or the technique of conducting it, the relative merit of piecework and time-work, overtime rules, the right of employers to discharge workers, the contracting system and other problems of the industry, the factional conflict in the union, activities of other unions, and national and international affairs. During this period the union was struggling to establish itself in the industry and faced large problems which were common to most of the locals. Strikes were almost always general strikes of cloakmakers, suitmakers, dressmakers, or some other group rather than strikes against a particular shop. The contracting problem and the controversy over piecework affected all members of the union. Almost every local was rent by factional strife. By the thirties, however, the union had entrenched itself more securely in the industry, factionalism had been checked, and the number of controversial issues had declined. From 1931 on, therefore, editorials were shorter and were largely reviews of union activities which were reported in news form elsewhere in the journal. They tended to be congratulatory remarks on union achievements rather than analyses of problems. Editorial discussion of national and international affairs also declined.

The general news section of *Justice* was used in the early years to report major developments in the union—a general strike of cloakmakers or skirtmakers, a development in the factional conflict, a bargaining conference with employers' associations. The only local union reporting in the journal was the cutters' local, which discussed such problems as discharge cases, grievance machinery, violation of union rules by members and the imposition of penalties on them, and also the larger problems facing the international. Beginning about 1926, reports from locals and joint boards began to appear intermittently, and from 1930 on they were a regular feature of the journal. These reports included details of organizing progress, strikes, agreements, and National Recovery Administration codes. By the middle thirties the union had become firmly established in the large eastern cities and was attempting to organize shops in the small eastern towns and in the cities of the West. From 1937 on entire pages were devoted to progress reports on organizing campaigns in the out-of-

town shops, the Eastern cotton garment area, and the Southwest. From the middle thirties on the journal also contained many pictures, and described at length the sports, educational, and cultural activities of the union.

Each issue of *Justice* has normally included a long feature article, usually written by a non-member of the union, but sometimes by a union officer or a member of the editorial staff. The subjects have varied with the times, including such matters as international relations, imperialism, cooperation, the Socialist party, labor's legal status, foreign labor movements, major strikes of other unions, the history of the American labor movement, social insurance, national politics, and government ownership of industry. The writers have included, among many others, Juliet S. Poyntz, Robert Morss Lovett, Scott Nearing, and Norman Thomas. *Justice* has also ordinarily carried one or more columns of comment on current political and labor developments.

The Ladies' Garment Workers held annual conventions from its formation in 1900 until 1908, and biennial conventions from 1910 through 1924. Subsequent conventions have been held in 1925, 1928, 1929, 1932, 1934, 1937, and 1940.

The proceedings of the conventions from 1901 to 1910 were short, containing only reports by the president and secretary-treasurer, brief reports from locals, and a list of resolutions considered with no record of the discussion on them. The president's and secretary-treasurer's reports contained short summaries of strikes, organizing activities, label promotion, and internal union problems; the secretary-treasurer's report also contained a financial statement. In 1912 and 1914 the officers' reports were more detailed and the report of proceedings was longer, containing speeches to the convention and a summary of the delegates' remarks on resolutions and committee reports.

The reports of conventions since 1916 have maintained the same general form, including a long report by the general executive board, a detailed financial report, and a record of speeches and discussion in the convention. The report of the general executive board frequently exceeds two hundred pages. It is in essence a history of the international, containing long accounts of particular strikes and negotiations, with lists of the union's demands, copies of letters exchanged between the union and employers, and the texts of agreements obtained. It discusses also the activities and problems of particular locals or areas, relations among locals and between locals and the international, factional conflict in the union, educational activities, political action and legislation, developments

in the general labor movement, union-management cooperation, and economic problems of the garment industry. Membership statistics, wage statistics, and other industrial data are also frequently included. The financial report has been long and detailed from the first report in 1901, which listed expenditures as small as four cents for stationery, to the 1941 report, which contained forty-two pages.

Committee reports, remarks by the president, and speeches to the convention have been recorded verbatim since 1916. Discussion of delegates was summarized from 1916 to 1922, partly summarized and partly reported in full from 1924 to 1928, and reported verbatim from 1929 to date. The summaries for the earlier years were extensive, however, and indicated the speaker's argument as well as his conclusions. The factional conflict in the union was aired at length in the 1924 and 1925 conventions, with the "right wing" regularly outvoting its opponents by about three to two. The conventions of 1928, 1929, and 1932 saw extensive discussion of the use of the initiative and referendum in electing international officers. Factional feeling was evident in these discussions and also in the discussions of proportional representation, which was proposed at every convention from the late twenties through the thirties. By the middle thirties, however, the factional conflict had been largely resolved and the union had become more securely established in the industry. From this time on there was less discussion of union problems by the delegates and many more addresses to the convention by guest speakers.

The presence of a "radical element" in the union had been mentioned in *The Ladies' Garment Worker* between 1910 and 1918. This faction dominated several of the locals, and the journal frequently discussed the advisability of permitting the continuance of local periodicals which were used to oppose policies of the international. In the early twenties a more acute conflict developed between communist elements in the union and the international officers. Editorials and articles in *Justice* discussed the positions of the two groups in detail. Between 1919 and 1922 the editorials, though critical of the communist faction, were conciliatory in tone; at the peak of the struggle, between 1923 and 1929, they denounced the opposition in strong terms.

Crises in the dispute occurred in 1923, 1925, and 1926. In 1923, the international determined after a trial that the Trade Union Educational League could be considered an organization of garment workers, and that it was under the direct control of the Communist party. Since the Ladies' Garment Workers' constitu-

tion provided that no member of the union could belong to another organization in the trade, members were ordered to withdraw from the League or be expelled from the union. In 1925, the executive boards of locals 2, 9, and 22 were suspended from holding office for five years on charges of attempting to "bring our organization into disrepute, to sabotage its constructive work, and to malign and besmirch its chosen leaders and representatives." A few months later, however, a peace agreement was reached between the opposing factions; new elections were held by the locals concerned, and all of the suspended officers were reelected. In 1926 the New York Cloak Joint Board, which was dominated by communists, refused to accept an arbitration decision of a special commission appointed by Governor Smith. A strike was called, which lasted for twenty weeks and was managed by the communist faction. The journal supported the strike, but after the strikers had failed to achieve many of their demands, it "exposed" the poor leadership of the communists. The communist faction was discredited and the officers of the Joint Board resigned their positions, some of them leading in the formation of a dual union in 1928. By the early thirties the communists had lost control of locals which they had previously dominated, and factional conflict declined.

The publications have devoted a great deal of space to the economic characteristics and problems of the industry. The system under which the outside manufacturers bid against each other to secure contracts from jobbers was naturally conducive to price-cutting, wage-cutting, and poor working conditions. The union attacked this problem in the early twenties by attempting, through agreements with the jobbers, to limit the number of contractors from whom each jobber might buy and to specify the minimum number of machines which each contractor must have. The New York cloakmakers established a jobbing department in 1923 to check on the shops to which each jobber sent his work. The garment codes under the National Recovery Administration contained strict regulations over the jobber and assisted the union in its effort to control the jobber-contractor relation. Most agreements with jobbers since the middle thirties have made the jobber responsible to the union for wages and conditions in the contracting shops to which he gives work. The union has claimed that these restrictions on the jobber have stimulated the development of large independent shops in the industry.

In recent years the union has cooperated with employers in efforts to stimulate demand and regulate production. Immediately after the invalidation of the NRA it joined with employers'

associations to form the National Coat and Suit Industry Recovery Board. This Board was to carry on the work of NRA in controlling unfair competition, controlling sources of production—particularly those from which some chain stores purchased—and maintaining a consumers' sanitary protection label. In the latter part of 1940 the union instituted a plan to promote the New York dress industry. The plan called for a million-dollar fund to be raised by the industry, to which the union contributed \$100,000, and for an additional \$500,000 to be raised by retailers, textile firms, and banking interests. The object of the plan was to increase the sale of New York dresses by advertising New York as a fashion center and by increasing production efficiency sufficiently to win back business from low-cost producers in other areas.

Certain other activities and problems of the union, described in its publications, may be noted more briefly. Some craft groups in the union, including the cutters and embroiderers, are organized in separate locals, centralization of policy being effected through industrial joint boards. At various times, and particularly during the twenties, there has been controversy over the way in which locals should be grouped together, and over the extent to which authority should be centralized in the joint boards.

There has also been extensive discussion of the question of piece-work *versus* time-work. During the twenties, President Schlesinger favored time-work on the ground that the union would have more control over wages if a weekly minimum were established. Many of the older workers, accustomed to the "bundle" system, were reluctant to accept time-work, and many editorials were written in an effort to convince them. Time-work was established rather extensively during the twenties, but in the thirties piecework again became the dominant method of wage payment.

The Ladies' Garment Workers' union has spent a great deal of money and effort on educational and cultural activities. The education department, founded in 1917, has been expanded considerably since that time. The union sponsors courses in trade unionism, history, English, public speaking, arts and crafts, and dramatics. In addition, it has an extensive athletic program and maintains a health center. The health center, organized by several locals in 1913 and taken over by the international in 1934, has a medical and dental staff and devotes primary attention to preventive medicine. *Justice* has usually contained at least one page devoted to these activities, and the space accorded them has increased greatly since the middle thirties.

The Ladies' Garment Workers' union was a charter member of the CIO and cooperated with it in organizing other industries, particularly the textile industry. Its refusal to withdraw from the Committee caused its suspension by the AFL in 1936. It declined, however, to take part in the constitutional convention of the CIO in 1938 on the ground that, while it approved the Committee's attempt to organize hitherto unorganized workers, it did not approve the creation of a dual federation of labor. The Ladies' Garment Workers' continued as an independent union from 1938 until 1940, when it was readmitted to the AFL.

GLOVE WORKERS' UNION OF AMERICA, INTERNATIONAL

Address: P. O. Box 352, Kewanee, Ill.

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1902 Organized by group of AFL federal locals. Affiliated with AFL.
 1937 Seceding faction of New York locals affiliated with CIO.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
 [1902]; 2nd, 1903; 3rd, 1905; 5th, 1907; [7th, 1911; 8th, 1913; 9th, 1916]; 10th, 1931; 11th, 1934; 13th, 1937; 14th, 1938; 15th, 1940
2. Constitutions.
 1902; 1903; 1907; 1911; 1913; 1916; 1934; 1937; 1940
3. Journal.
 Published as: (Gloversville, N. Y.; Chicago; Milwaukee)
 1905-1906?: *Glove Workers' Journal*
 Oct 1911-Aug 1918: *Glove Workers' Monthly Bulletin*
 Nov 1937-1941+: *Monthly Bulletin*
 (Suspended 1918-1937. NS, 1911, 1937.)

HAT, CAP AND MILLINERY WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL UNION, CLOTH

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1901 Organized as United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of North America.
- 1902 Affiliated with AFL.
- 1918 Suspended by AFL.
- 1924 Reinstated in AFL.
- 1925 Changed name to Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union.
- 1934 Merged with United Hatters of North America (*q. v.*) to form United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union (*q. v.*).

II. PUBLICATIONS

- 1. Proceedings.
 - 2nd, 1902; 8th-10th bien., 1911-1915; spec., 1917/1918; 12th-17th bien., 1919-1929; 18th, 1933; 1934 (1934, joint conv. with United Hatters of North America (*q. v.*). Spec., 1917/1918, 12th *with* journal.)
- 2. Reports.
 - Secretary: 1911
- 3. Constitutions.
 - 1901; 1913; 1917; 1923; 1927; 1929
- 4. Journal.
 - Published as: (New York; Long Island City, N. Y.; New York)
 - May 1903-Apr 1906?: *The Cap-Makers' Journal*
 - Sep 1916-Feb 1917: *Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' Journal*
 - Mar 1917-Sep 1929: *The Headgear Worker* (Ceased publication)

HAT FINISHERS' ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, WOOL

I. CHRONOLOGY

1869 Organized.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
7th, 1875; 11th, 1879; 13th-17th ann., 1881-1885
2. Constitutions.
1884; 1888; 1911

HAT FINISHERS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, NATIONAL TRADE ASSOCIATION OF SILK AND FUR

I. CHRONOLOGY

1866? Organized by seceding faction of National Trade Association of Hat Finishers of the United States of America.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
1885
2. Reports.
Officers: 1883

HAT MAKERS' ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED STATES, NATIONAL

I. CHRONOLOGY

1883? Organized.

1896 Merged with International Trade Association of Hat Finishers of America to form United Hatters of North America (*q. v.*).

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
1st, 1883; 2nd, 1885; spec., 1886

HATTERS, CAP AND MILLINERY WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL UNION, UNITED

Address: 245 Fifth Ave., New York

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1934 Organized as result of merger of Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union (*q. v.*) with United Hatters of North America (*q. v.*). Each of the former internationals constituted a department of the new organization.
- 1936 Departments abolished.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
Cap and Millinery Dep't: 1st, 1934; 2nd, 1936 (1st with proceedings of 18th conv. of Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers International Union (*q. v.*)). Men's Hat Dep't: 1st, 1934; 2nd, 1936 (1st with proceedings of joint conv. of Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union and United Hatters of North America (*q. v.*)).
2. Constitutions.
1934; 1936; 1939
3. Journal.
Published as: (Harrisburg, Pa.; New York)
1938-1941+: *The Hat Worker*

HATTERS OF NORTH AMERICA, UNITED

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1854 Organized as National Trade Association of Hat Finishers of the United States of America.
- 1884 Changed name to National Trade Association of Hat Finishers of America.
- 1886 Changed name to Hat Finishers' International Association of North America.
- 1889 Changed name to International Trade Association of Hat Finishers of America.
- 1896 Merged with the National Hat Makers' Association of the United States (*q. v.*) to form the United Hatters of North America.
- 1934 Merged with Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union (*q. v.*) to form United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union (*q. v.*)

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
spec., 1882; bien., 1884-1888. After merger: 1900; 1903; 4th-9th quad., 1907-1927; spec. 1933/1934; 1934 (1934, joint conv. with Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union (*q. v.*)).
2. Constitutions.
1863; 1886; 1888; 1892; bien. 1896-1900; 1903; 1906; 1907; 1911; 1920; 1923/1926; 1927
3. Journal.
Published as: (Orange, N. J.; New York)
Aug 1897-Nov 1904?: *Journal of the ...*
Feb 1926-Mar 1927?: *The Hatter*
(NS, 1926)

HOSIERY WORKERS, AMERICAN FEDERATION OF

Address: 2319 N. Broad St., Philadelphia

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1913 Organized as a craft group within United Textile Workers of America (*q. v.*) under name of American Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers.
- 1915 Seceded from United Textile Workers of America and functioned as independent union.
- 1922 Reaffiliated with United Textile Workers as an autonomous craft group within the parent body. Adopted present name.
- 1939 Became an autonomous branch of Textile Workers' Union of America (*q. v.*).

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
9th-13th ann., 1920-1924; 15th-17th ann., 1926-1928
2. Reports.
Officers and Executive Board: ann. 1939-1941
3. Constitutions.
1921; 1928; 1934; ann. 1936-1939
4. Journal.
Published as: (Philadelphia)
1920?-1941+: *The Hosiery Worker*
(v. 16 marked v. 15, nos. 53-92)

KNIGHTS OF ST. CRISPIN, ORDER OF

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1867 Organized in Milwaukee, Wis.
 1875 Reorganized after a period of inactivity.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
 2nd, 1869; 3rd, 1870; 5th, 1872
2. Constitutions.
 ann. 1869-1872
3. Journal.
 Published as: (Hopkinton, Mass.)
 1872-Jan 1873?: *Journal of the . . .*

LACE OPERATIVES OF AMERICA, AMALGAMATED

Address: 545 W. Lehigh Ave., Philadelphia

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1892 Organized as Chartered Society of Amalgamated Lace Curtain Operatives of America.
 1894 Affiliated with AFL.
 1903? Dropped "Curtain" from name. *should have kept it*
 1919 Expelled from AFL. *branches*
 ? Adopted present name.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
 bien., 1914-1918; bien., 1922-1926
2. Constitutions.
 1902; 1903; 1905; 1909; bien. 1912-1916; 1920
3. Journal.
 Published as: (Mt. Morris, Ill.)
 1925-1941+: *The American Lace Worker*

LASTERS' PROTECTIVE UNION OF AMERICA

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1879 Organized.
- 1887 Affiliated with AFL.
- 1895 Merged with Boot and Shoe Workers' International Union (*q. v.*) and locals of Shoeworkers' National Trade Assembly, Knights of Labor to form Boot and Shoe Workers' Union (*q. v.*).

II. PUBLICATIONS

- 1. Proceedings.
ann. 1888-1890; 1892; 1893; 1895
- 2. Constitutions.
1890; 1892
- 3. Journal.
Published as: (Boston)
1888-May 1894: *The Laster* (Ceased publication)

SHOE AND LEATHER WORKERS UNION, UNITED

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1933 Organized as result of merger of National Shoe Workers Association; Shoe Workers' Protective Union (*q. v.*); Shoe and Leather Workers' Industrial Union; and some local organizations. Seceding faction of Shoe Workers' Protective Union continued under previous name.
- 1937 Merged with Shoe Workers' Protective Union to form United Shoe Workers of America, 1937 (*q. v.*).

II. PUBLICATIONS

- 1. Constitutions.
1934?
- 2. Journal.
Published as: (Boston)
Jul 1934-Oct 1935: *United Shoe and Leather Worker*
(Ceased publication)

SHOE WORKERS OF AMERICA, UNITED, 1909

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1909 Organized.
1912 Absorbed Boot and Shoe Cutters' National Assembly, Knights of Labor (*q. v.*) and Stock Fitters' Assembly, Knights of Labor.
1924 Merged with the Shoe Workers' Protective Union (*q. v.*).

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
2nd, 1911; 3rd, 1913; 4th, 1919
2. Constitutions.
bien. 1909-1913; 1919

SHOE WORKERS OF AMERICA, UNITED, 1937

Address: 917 15th St., N. W., Washington

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1937 Organized as result of merger of United Shoe and Leather Workers Union (*q. v.*) and Shoe Workers Protective Union (*q. v.*). Affiliated with CIO.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
1939
2. Constitutions.
1937; 1939
3. Journal.
Published as:
1938-1941+: *CIO News. Shoe Workers Edition*

SHOE WORKERS' PROTECTIVE UNION

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1899 Organized by seceding faction of Boot and Shoe Workers' Union (*q. v.*).
- 1901 Absorbed another seceding faction of Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.
- 1924 Absorbed United Shoe Workers of America, 1909 (*q. v.*).
- 1933 Merged with other unions in the industry to form United Shoe and Leather Workers' Union (*q. v.*), but a substantial faction soon withdrew from the merged union and continued under name of Shoe Workers' Protective Union.
- 1937 Merged with United Shoe and Leather Workers' Union to form United Shoe Workers of America, 1937 (*q. v.*).

II. PUBLICATIONS

- 1. Proceedings.
2nd, 1926; 3rd, 1933
- 2. Constitutions.
1926; 1933

SPINNERS' UNION, INTERNATIONAL

Address: 53 Howard St., Holyoke, Mass.

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1858 Organized as Benevolent and Protective Association of the United Operative Mule Spinners of New England.
- 1861? Changed name to Amalgamated Mule Spinners' Association.
- 1881 Participated in formation of AFL.
- 1887 Reorganized as National Cotton Mule Spinners' Association of America.
- 1889 Reaffiliated with AFL.
- 1899 Changed name to National Spinners' Association of America.
- 1906 Adopted present name.
- 1919 Expelled from AFL.
- 1937 Reaffiliated with AFL.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
3rd, 1892; 4th, 1893; 9th-15th semi-ann., Apr 1894-Apr 1897;
20th-22nd ann., 1899-1901; 23rd-30th semi-ann., Apr 1902-
Oct 1905; 31st-44th ann., 1906-1919
2. Constitutions.
1890; 1895; 1907

TAILORS' UNION OF AMERICA, JOURNEYMEN

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1883 Organized as Journeymen Tailors' National Union of the United States by group of locals which had continued to function after the disintegration of Tailors' National Trades Union.
- 1887 Affiliated with AFL.
- 1889 Changed name to Journeymen Tailors' Union of America.
- 1913 Changed name to Tailors' Industrial Union.
- 1914 Merged with Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America (*q. v.*).
- 1915 Seceded from Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America and resumed name of Journeymen Tailors' Union of America.
- 1935 Merged with Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
[2nd, 1884]; 3rd, 1885; 4th-7th bien., 1887-1893; 8th-11th quad., 1905-1917; [12th, 1921]; spec., 1928 (4th-11th, spec., 1928 *with* journal)
2. Constitutions.
[1884]; 1885; 1887; 1888; bien. 1889-1893; 1896; bien. 1900-1910; quad. 1913-1921; 1928 (1884, 1885 *with* proceedings)
3. Journal.
Published as: (New York; Chicago; Bloomingdale, Ill.)
1887-Jan 1936: *The Tailor*
(Merged with *Advance*, organ of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers (*q. v.*).

TEXTILE OPERATIVES, AMERICAN FEDERATION OF, 1900

I. CHRONOLOGY,

- 1900 Organized as result of merger of group of national textile craft organizations (weavers, carders, mule-spinners, loom-fixers and slashertenders) with National Federation of Textile Operatives (*q. v.*).
- 1901 Merged with other textile unions to form United Textile Workers of America (*q. v.*).

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
1st, 1900
2. Constitutions.
1900

TEXTILE OPERATIVES, AMERICAN FEDERATION OF, 1919

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1916 Organized as National Amalgamation of Textile Operatives by seceding faction of United Textile Workers of America (*q. v.*).
- 1919? Changed name to American Federation of Textile Operatives.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
1st-3rd ann., 1916-1918; 5th-16th ann., 1920-1931
2. Constitutions.
1916; 1917; 1924; 1927; 1933
3. Journal.
Published as: (New Bedford, Mass.)
May-Sep 1919?: *Textile Operatives Journal*

TEXTILE OPERATIVES, NATIONAL FEDERATION OF

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1895 Organized as Massachusetts State Federation of Weavers.
1897 Changed name to New England State Federation of Textile Workers.
1898 Changed name to National Federation of Textile Operatives.
1900 Merged with a group of national textile craft organizations to form American Federation of Textile Operatives (*q. v.*).

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
ann. 1897-1900
2. Constitutions.
1900

TEXTILE WORKERS, INTERNATIONAL UNION OF

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1891 Organized.
1896 Affiliated with AFL as National Union of Textile Workers.
1900? Changed name to International Union of Textile Workers.
1901 Merged with other textile unions to form United Textile Workers of America (*q. v.*).

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
11th, 1900
2. Constitutions.
1900; 1901

TEXTILE WORKERS OF AMERICA, AMALGAMATED

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1919 Organized by seceding faction of United Textile Workers of America (*q. v.*).
1925 Disbanded.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Constitutions.

1919

2. Journal.

Published as: (Lawrence, Mass.; New York)

Apr 12-Aug 23, 1919: *The Textile Worker*May ? 1919-Aug 1924: *The New Textile Worker*

(Suspended Oct 1921-1922)

TEXTILE WORKERS OF AMERICA, UNITED

Address: 9th and Mt. Vernon Pl., N. W., Washington

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1901 Organized as result of merger of American Federation of Textile Operatives (*q. v.*); International Union of Textile Workers (*q. v.*); and a group of AFL federal locals. Affiliated with AFL.
- 1915 American Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers (*q. v.*), craft union within United Textile Workers of America, seceded.
- 1916 Seceding faction organized National Amalgamation of Textile Operatives (*q. v.*).
- 1919 Seceding faction organized Associated Silk Workers of America. Another seceding faction, mainly in Massachusetts, organized Amalgamated Textile Workers of America (*q. v.*).
- 1922 American Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers re-affiliated with United Textile Workers of America as an autonomous branch under name of American Federation of Hosiery Workers (*q. v.*).
- 1928 Seceding faction of National Loom Fixers' Association merged with United Textile Workers of America.
- 1931 Associated Silk Workers of America re-affiliated with United Textile Workers of America as an autonomous branch under name of American Federation of Silk Workers.
- 1935 Participated in formation of CIO.
- 1936 Cooperated with CIO-sponsored Textile Workers Organizing Committee. Suspended by AFL.
- 1938 Expelled by AFL. A faction, retaining name of United Textile Workers of America, withdrew from CIO and re-affiliated with AFL.
- 1939 CIO faction merged with Textile Workers Organizing Committee to form Textile Workers' Union of America (*q. v.*).

II. PUBLICATIONS (Code Number: T3)

1. Proceedings.
1st-22nd ann., 1901-1922; 23rd-30th bien., 1924-1938; spec., 1939; spec., 1941 (21st-29th *with journal*)
2. Constitutions.
1902; 1904; 1905; 1908; ann. 1911-1913; ann. 1916-1918; ann. 1920-1922; bien. 1924-1938; 1941
3. Journal.
Published as: (New York)
1912-Mar 13, 1937: *The Textile Worker*
1939-1941+: *Textile Worker*
(Suspended publication Apr 1917-Jan 1918 and Mar 1937-1939; NS 1935, 1939.)
Editors:
1912-Aug 1915: Albert Hibbert
Sep 1915-Jun 1921: John Golden
Jun 1921-Jan 1937: Thomas McMahon
Feb-Mar 13, 1937: Francis Gorman
(1939-41 not indexed.)

III. CRITIQUE OF PUBLICATIONS

For eleven years after its formation in 1901, the United Textile Workers of America used a privately published paper, *The Laborer and Journeymen*, as its official organ. In 1912, however, *The Textile Worker* was established as the official monthly magazine of the union.

From its inception until 1923, *The Textile Worker* consisted mainly of AFL releases and articles reprinted from other trade union publications, newspapers, and magazines. The other principal feature was a president's column, instituted in 1915, to which the president-editor contributed articles on such subjects as strikes, dues and assessments, secession of locals, the objectives of the union, the need for organization, contemporary labor legislation, and the tariff question.

After 1923 the volume of original contributions increased and reprinted material became relatively less important. News stories and articles on union affairs appeared, and organizers were given a column in which to discuss their assignments. While their letters were at first mainly descriptions of their itineraries, they gradually broadened into general discussions of the conditions and union problems encountered in each area. The journal reflected the increased activity of the union during the period of the Na-

tional Industrial Recovery Act when a great many new members were recruited, widespread strikes were called, National Recovery Administration codes instituted, and wage increases secured. At this time also a research department was created under Francis Gorman, who later succeeded Thomas McMahon as president. In October 1935 the monthly journal was replaced by a semi-monthly newspaper and continued in this form until the union transferred its allegiance to the CIO in March 1937.

The Textile Worker devoted a great deal of space to the economic characteristics and problems of the textile industry. The depressed state of the industry after 1923 and the migration of firms from New England to the South were frequently discussed in editorials and special articles, with the union placing much of the responsibility for these difficulties on inefficient management and absentee ownership. The condition of southern workers and the unsuccessful attempts made to organize them were discussed extensively in the journal.

Independent unions and seceding groups were active during the twenties, particularly in Massachusetts, and *The Textile Worker* devoted much space to this problem. It bitterly accused the IWW of instigating many of the secessions and of engaging in strike-breaking activities. Another much discussed subject was the introduction of incentive systems accompanied by a "stretch-out" of work loads. The union opposed this movement fairly successfully until 1929, but it made marked headway during the depression years of 1930-1932 and has continued since that time.

The proceedings of the union's conventions consisted until 1921 almost exclusively of officers' reports. The president, vice-president, secretary-treasurer, and organizers summarized their activities since the last convention. In addition, the president and vice-president usually dealt more generally with the progress of the union and the labor movement, pending legislation, the child labor problem, the use of injunctions in strikes, and similar matters.

From 1921 to 1935 the proceedings were published in the journal, beginning in the September issue. Most of the discussion in the conventions of 1922, 1924, and 1926 was recorded verbatim. The convention of 1928, however, ordered that convention reports be printed in book form and distributed to locals. After 1928 only officers' reports, texts of resolutions passed, and a brief summary of the convention discussions appeared in the journal.

In March 1937 the United Textile Workers turned over its affairs to a Textile Workers Organizing Committee created by the CIO. The new organization held a constitutional convention in

1939, at which the Textile Workers Organizing Committee was amalgamated with the United Textile Workers under the name of the Textile Workers Union of America. There remained in existence, however, a faction of the United Textile Workers led by Francis Gorman, who had refused to adhere to the CIO and had in consequence been suspended from his position as international president. A number of locals followed Gorman and in 1938 were readmitted to the AFL under the original name of the union.

TEXTILE WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA

Address: 15 Union Square, New York

I. CHRONOLOGY

1939 Organized by merger of CIO faction of United Textile Workers of America (*q. v.*) and Textile Workers Organizing Committee. Affiliated with CIO.

II. PUBLICATIONS (Code Number: T5)

1. Proceedings.
1st, 1939; 2nd, 1941
2. Constitutions.
1939
3. Journal.
Published as: (Philadelphia; New York)
1939-1941+: *Textile Labor*
Editor:
1939-1941+: Richard Rohman

III. CRITIQUE OF PUBLICATIONS

In March 1937 the United Textile Workers of America turned over its affairs to the CIO-sponsored Textile Workers Organizing Committee, which thenceforward issued charters to new locals. As a result, the United Textile Workers was expelled from the AFL. Soon afterwards, a faction of the Textile Workers withdrew from the new international, resumed the name of United Textile Workers, and reaffiliated with the AFL. In 1939 a convention was held, at which the remaining locals of the United Textile Workers merged with locals of the Organizing Committee

to form a new international, the Textile Workers Union of America.

Textile Labor was published from February to May 1939 as the official organ of the Textile Workers Organizing Committee, and thereafter as the organ of the Textile Workers Union. Originally an eight-page monthly newspaper, it was enlarged in August 1941 to twelve pages. It consists almost exclusively of news stories, with one editorial or in some cases several short editorials. Except for the addition of a "News Summary" in August 1941, the content of the journal has remained uniform from 1939 to date.

The news stories include accounts of organizing drives, strikes, collective bargaining negotiations, provisions of collective agreements, decisions and elections of the National Labor Relations Board, and minimum wage hearings under the Fair Labor Standards Act. The main activity of the union during the period 1939-1941 was organization, particularly in the South, and most of the news stories were reports on the progress of organizing campaigns. The news stories are strictly descriptive and contain no discussion or comment on problems of union policy. The editorial is short and is usually a discussion of one of the main news items.

The union held two conventions between 1939 and 1941, and verbatim proceedings were published in both cases. The president's and executive board's reports were submitted to delegates but did not appear in the proceedings. Summaries of these reports were contained in the report of the committee on officers' reports. In 1941 the committee's report included a short financial statement which classified disbursements under such general headings as administrative expenses and organizing expenses. An auditing committee's report, which itemized disbursements in greater detail than the 1941 report, was included in the 1939 proceedings.

The proceedings of both conventions contained addresses of officers and guests, discussion of resolutions by delegates and officers, committee reports and discussion of committee reports. The principal committees were those on education, organization, and legislation. The 1939 proceedings were largely devoted to details of the merger of the United Textile Workers with the TWOC and the drafting of a constitution for the new union. In 1941 the delegates were most concerned with labor legislation and with the problems arising out of organizing drives in the South.

WEAVERS, NATIONAL FEDERATION OF CLOTH

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1906 Organized as National Federation of Weavers.
1909 Changed name to National Federation of Cloth Weavers.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
1st-4th ann., 1908-1911; 6th-12th, 1913-1919
2. Constitutions.
1906; 1909; 1916

CHAPTER 11

Food, Beverages, and Tobacco

BAKERY AND CONFECTIONERY WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL UNION OF AMERICA

Address: 2719 N. Wilton Ave., Chicago

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1886 Organized as The Journeymen Bakers' National Union of the United States.
- 1887 Affiliated with AFL.
- 1889? Changed name to Bakers' and Confectioners' International Union of America.
- 1903 Adopted present name.
- 1921 Seceding faction organized International Workers in the Amalgamated Food Industry, which later became Amalgamated Food Workers of America (*q. v.*).
- 1935 Absorbed Amalgamated Food Workers of America.

II. PUBLICATIONS

- 1. Proceedings.
[1st-3rd ann., 1886-1888]; 4th, 1889; [5th, 1890]; 6th, 1891; 7th, 1892; 8th, 1894; 9th, 1897; 10th, 1899; 12th-16th trien., 1905-1917; 17th, 1921; 18th-20th trien., 1923-1929; 21st, 1936; 22nd, 1941 (4th, 6th-10th, 12th-17th *with* journal)
- 2. Constitutions.
1886; 1887; ann. 1890-1892; 1894; bien. 1897-1903; 1906; 1909; trien. 1912-1930; ann. 1931-1933; 1936
- 3. Journal.
Published as: (Chicago)
1885-Aug 1895: *Deutsch-Amerikanische Bäcker-Zeitung*
Jun 1887-Apr 1890: *John Swinton's Paper*
May 1890-Oct 25, 1941: *Bakers' Journal*
Nov 1, 1941+: *Bakers' and Confectioners' Journal*
(From 1885 to Apr 1890 the *Bäcker-Zeitung* was the official German-language organ of the union. From Jun 1887 to Apr 1890 *John Swinton's Paper* was the official English-language organ. In May 1890 it was superseded by *Bakers' Journal* which in Aug 1895 absorbed the *Bäcker-Zeitung*. V. 25 of *Bakers' Journal* repeated in numbering.)

BREWERY, FLOUR, CEREAL AND SOFT DRINK WORKERS OF AMERICA, INTERNATIONAL UNION OF UNITED

Address: 2345-2351 Vine St., Cincinnati

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1886 Organized as National Union of Brewers of the United States.
- 1887 Affiliated with AFL as Brewers National Union. Later in year changed name to National Union of the United Brewery Workmen of the United States.
- 1903 Changed name to International Union of the United Brewery Workmen of America.
- 1907 Expelled from AFL.
- 1908 Reaffiliated with AFL.
- 1917 Changed name to International Union of United Brewery and Soft Drink Workers of America.
- 1918 Adopted present name.

II. PUBLICATIONS

- 1. Proceedings.
 - 1st-4th ann., 1886-1889; 5th, 1891; 1893; 1894; 9th, 1896; 10th, 1897; 11th-13th ann., 1899-1901; 14th, 1903; 15th-20th bien., 1904-1914; 21st-24th trien., 1917-1926; 25th-27th trien., 1933-1939 (1893, 1894, 10th, 11th in German)
- 2. Reports.
 - Officers: 1914; 1917
- 3. Constitutions.
 - 1886; 1888; 1892; 1896; 1897; 1899; ann. 1901-1904; bien. 1906-1914; trien. 1917-1926; trien. 1933-1939 (1886, 1888 in German, with proceedings)
- 4. Journal.
 - Published as: (Cincinnati)
 - Oct 1886-Oct 1910: *Brauer Zeitung*
 - Nov 1910-1917: *Brauerei Arbeiter Zeitung*
 - Jan-Nov 1918: *Brewery and Soft Drink Workers Journal*
 - Dec 1918-Mar 3, 1934: *Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers Journal*
 - Mar 10, 1934-1941+: *The Brewery Worker*

CANNERY, AGRICULTURAL, PACKING AND ALLIED WORKERS OF AMERICA, UNITED

Address: 1505 Race St., Philadelphia

I. CHRONOLOGY

1937 Organized. Affiliated with CIO.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
1st, 1937; 3rd, 1940
2. Constitutions.
1937; 1940
3. Journal.
Published as: (Chicago; New York; Washington)
Jul 1939-1941+ : *UCAPAWA News*
(Suspended Oct 1940-Jul 1941.)

CIGAR MAKERS' INTERNATIONAL UNION OF AMERICA

Address: 1003 K St., N. W., Washington

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1864 Organized as Cigar Makers' National Union of the United States.
- 1867 Adopted present name.
- 1881 Participated in formation of AFL.
- 1882 Seceding locals of New York and vicinity organized Cigar Makers' Progressive Union of America (*q. v.*).
- 1885 Absorbed Cigar Makers' Progressive Union of America.

II. PUBLICATIONS (Code Number: C1)

1. Proceedings.
1st-4th ann., 1864-1867; spec., 1870; 11th, 1877; 12th, 1879; 13th, 1880; 14th-20th bien., 1881-1893; 21st, 1896; 22nd, 1912; 23rd, 1920; 24th-26th bien., 1923-1927; 27th, 1931
(2nd-4th MS.; 11th-27th *with* journal)

2. Constitutions.

1864; 1865; 1867; 1880; 1881; 1882 (2 edns.); 1883†; 1885 (2 edns.); 1887; 1890; 1891; 1893 (2 edns.); 1896 (22 edns.); 1909 (20 edns.); 1912 (4 edns.); 1920; bien. 1923-1927; 1931; 1937

3. Journal.

Published as: (New York; Buffalo; Chicago; Washington)
1875-1941+: *Cigar Makers' Official Journal*
(Vs. 27 and 28 duplicated in several issues.)

Editors:

Nov 1875-Sep 1877: George Hurst

Oct 1877-1891: A. Strasser

1892-1926: George W. Perkins

1927-1935: J. M. Ornburn

1936-1941+: R. E. Van Horn

III. CRITIQUE OF PUBLICATIONS

The first issue of the *Cigar Makers' Official Journal* appeared eleven years after the Cigar Makers' International Union was organized. The early journal did little more than record assessments, suspensions, union finances, and business conditions in various localities. It depended on other periodicals for most of its articles. At least one page of the usual weekly four was written in German and Bohemian, and this feature was continued until the twenties. Letters from members provided practically all the news of union affairs and comment on current events.

In 1880 the correspondence section was expanded, and until 1912 it dominated the journal. Since the Cigar Makers made extensive use of the initiative and referendum until 1927, many members took the opportunity of threshing out proposals in the columns of the journal. The letters debated such union issues as the merit of the referendum system, the qualifications of candidates for union office, and the provisions of benefit plans, and wrestled with such economic ideas as methods of eliminating business cycles, the single tax, socialism, and producers' cooperation. The opinions expressed often differed from those of Editors Adolph Strasser and George Perkins or challenged the policy of the union.

The editorials paralleled in general the subject matter of the correspondence. After a decision concerning a particular question had been made by the membership, it was supported as union policy by Strasser and Perkins, whether or not they had opposed such a decision when the question was pending.

After 1912 the amount of correspondence decreased and the letters became shorter; after 1925 letters disappeared altogether. Editorials continued to pay attention to a variety of subjects, but emphasized union problems. The falling off of letters and the pre-occupation with union matters coincided with a great decline in membership after 1916. After 1937 the journal, published quarterly, included a few editorials, news items, notices of union business, and trade agreements.

A major concern of the union from the beginning was promotion of the union label. Its blue label, adopted in 1880, was the first national union label in the United States. Before taking this step, the union had used a local label to fight Chinese labor on the Pacific Coast. Almost every issue of the journal after 1880 referred to the label or suggested methods of spreading its use.

Another early development was the Cigar Makers' "chain of benefit plans." Strike and traveling benefits were the first provided. A few years later a death benefit plan was adopted and in its wake came retirement benefits, sick benefits, unemployment compensation, and a home for tuberculars. Before the World War, the Cigar Makers prided itself on having the oldest, strongest, and most comprehensive union benefit system in the country. Letters and editorials in the journal often discussed the advisability of various plans and the status of the benefit funds; and the union's comprehensive financial reports, itemized by locals, furnished voluminous information on the administration of these plans. The decline of the union's fortunes in the twenties led to the abandonment in 1927 of all except death benefits.

An obstacle to the early drive of the Cigar Makers for improved working conditions was the competition of tenement house workers in New York, prison labor, and Chinese labor on the Pacific Coast. Its attempt to abolish tenement house work was one of the rare instances in which the international resorted to politics.

The *Cigar Makers' Journal* pictured the transformation of the Trades and Labor Congress into the American Federation of Labor. The Cigar Makers was one of the chief defenders of craft unions and of a federation with craft autonomy. Its fight with the Socialists in New York, who were supported by the Knights of Labor, resulted in the suspension of the Cigar Makers' New York local and its affiliation with the Knights, severe jurisdictional conflict between the national trade unions, and the formation of the AFL to fight the Knights. Trouble with the Socialists persisted

and was intensified by De Leon's organization of the Socialist Labor party in 1898.

The development of the bunch breaker and the automatic cigar making machine flooded the industry with unskilled workers and made it imperative for the Cigar Makers to revise its membership requirements. The officers' advice that the unskilled be admitted was rejected, however, by many locals. The percentage of union members in the industry dropped rapidly. At the peak of its strength in 1916, the union had 53,000 members. In 1923 it could claim less than 23,000 and in 1934 only 7,000. As the results of its restrictive membership policy became clear to the Cigar Makers, it initiated a campaign to organize the unskilled, and by 1941 had mustered some 9,000 new members.

Convention proceedings were printed in the journal, beginning in 1877, usually without discussion. Since the power of the convention was limited by the requirement that all its decisions be ratified by referendum vote, the proceedings contained little that was not discussed more fully in the journal.

The reports of the international president, however, which were printed in the proceedings, provided much information on the Cigar Makers' problems and policies. In addition to a statement itemizing receipts and expenditures and analyzing the union's financial system, the president's report included topical discussions of business activity; prices and wages in the cigar industry; the conduct and financing of strikes and organizing campaigns; the use of the union label; union death, sickness, and unemployment benefit plans; sanitary, safety, and social legislation; child labor; and union and state hour regulations. From 1912 on, increasing attention was given to changing production methods in the cigar industry, and to relations between raw material costs, labor costs, wages, and prices. The union's benefit plans were discussed at greater length, and more detailed financial statements were given.

The vice-presidents also submitted reports through 1893. These dealt mainly with activities of the vice-presidents in settling disputes within or between locals, and in reorganizing or disciplining locals. For most convention years, minutes of executive board meetings were published either in the president's or vice-presidents' reports. The minutes summarized very briefly the cases coming before the board for decision, and the action taken on them.

CIGAR MAKERS' PROGRESSIVE UNION OF AMERICA

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1882 Organized by seceding faction of New York and vicinity locals of Cigar Makers' International Union of America (*q. v.*).
 1885 Absorbed by Cigar Makers' International Union of America.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Constitutions.
1883; 1885
2. Journal.
Published as: (New York)
Aug 1882-Dec 16, 1885: *Progress* (Ceased publication)

FLOUR AND CEREAL MILL EMPLOYEES, INTERNATIONAL UNION OF

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1902 Organized. Affiliated with AFL.
 1911 Expelled from AFL. Disbanded.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
[1st, 1902; 2nd, 1903]
2. Constitutions.
1902; 1904; 1907
3. Journal.
Published as: (Minneapolis)
1903-1904?: *The Eight Hour Miller*
1909?-May 1910: *The Hour Miller*

FOOD WORKERS OF AMERICA, AMALGAMATED

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1921 Organized by seceding faction of Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America (*q. v.*); and Hotel, Restaurant and Caterer Workers' Federation, an independent organization, under name of International Workers in the Amalgamated Food Industry.

1923? Changed name to Amalgamated Food Workers of America.

1935 Absorbed by Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Constitutions.

1923

2. Journal.

Published as: (New York)

1920-1935: *Free Voice of the Amalgamated Food Workers*
(Ceased publication)

MEAT CUTTERS AND BUTCHER WORKMEN OF NORTH AMERICA, AMALGAMATED

Address: 160 LaSalle St., Chicago

I. CHRONOLOGY

1897 Organized by group of AFL federal locals. Affiliated with AFL.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.

[1st, 1897]; 2nd, 1899; 3rd, 1900; 4th-6th bien., 1902-1906;
[7th, 1910]; 8th-10th trien., 1914-1920; 12th-15th quad.,
1926-1940

2. Constitutions.

1897; 1899; 1900; bien. 1902-1906; 1910; 1914; 1917; 1920;
1922; 1926; 1930; 1936; 1940

3. Journal.

Published as: (Syracuse; Chicago)

Jul 1899-Sep 1908: *Official Journal* (Ceased publication)

Jun 1911-1941+: *The Butcher Workman*

PACKINGHOUSE WORKERS OF AMERICA, UNITED

Address: 205 W. Wacker Drive, Chicago

I. CHRONOLOGY

1937 Organized as Packinghouse Workers Organizing Committee.

1943 Affiliated with CIO as international union under present name.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Journal.

Published as: (Chicago)

1938-1941: *CIO News. Packinghouse Workers' Edition*
(succeeded by *Packinghouse Worker*)

STOGIE MAKERS' LEAGUE, NATIONAL

I. CHRONOLOGY

1896 Organized.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.

1st, 1909

2. Constitutions.

1901; 1906; 1909; 1914

TOBACCO WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL UNION

Address: 806-809 Realty Bldg., Louisville, Ky.

I. CHRONOLOGY

1895 Organized as the National Tobacco Workers' Union of
America. Affiliated with AFL.

1898? Adopted present name.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.

3rd, 1897; 4th, 1898; 5th, 1900; 6th, 1939; 7th, 1940

2. Constitutions.

ann. 1896-1898; 1900; 1905; 1919; 1932; 1940?

3. Journal.

Published as: (Louisville, Ky.)

1897-Mar 1924: *The Tobacco Worker* (Ceased publication)

CHAPTER 12

Miscellaneous Manufactures

BROOM AND WHISK MAKERS' UNION, INTERNATIONAL

Address: 1716 N. Long Ave., Chicago

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1893 Organized as International Broom Makers' Union. Affiliated with AFL.
- 1903 Changed name to International Broom and Whisk Makers' Union.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
1903; 1907; 1918; 1920; 1924 (all *with* journal)
2. Constitutions.
quad. 1896-1908; 1910; 1918; 1924; 1925
3. Journal.
Published as: (Galesburg, Ill.; Amsterdam, N. Y.)
Dec 1899-Apr/May 1931: *The Broom Maker* (Ceased publication)

DISTRICT 50, UNITED MINE WORKERS OF AMERICA

Address: 15th and I Sts., N. W., Washington

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1936 Established as a national department of the United Mine Workers of America (*q. v.*), under name of Gas and By-Product Coke Workers, District 50 of the United Mine Workers of America.
- 1937 Changed name to Gas, By-Product Coke and Chemical Workers, District 50 of the United Mine Workers of America.
- 1939 Changed name to District 50, United Mine Workers of America, Gas, Coke and Chemical Workers.
- 1941 Adopted present name.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
1st, 1938; 2nd, 1940
2. Journal.
Published as: (Washington)
1938-Sep 1941: *CIO News. Gas, Coke and Chemical
Workers Edition*
Oct 1941+ : *District 50 News*

JEWELRY WORKERS' UNION, INTERNATIONAL

Address: 551 Fifth Ave., New York

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1900 Organized by group of AFL federal locals as International Jewelry Workers' Union of America. Affiliated with AFL.
- 1913 Disbanded. Some locals continued as AFL federal locals.
- 1916 Reorganized as International Jewelry Workers' Union by the AFL federal locals. Reaffiliated with AFL.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
3rd, 1902; 10th, 1910; after reorganization: 1st-4th ann., 1916-1919; 5th, 1921; 6th, 1925; 7th, 1940 (1st-5th *with journal*)
2. Constitutions.
1905; 1910; 1916; 1922; 1934; 1940
3. Journal.
Published as: (Chicago; New York)
1906-1910: *The Jewelry Worker* (Ceased publication)
1917-Jun 1924: *Jewelry Workers' Monthly Bulletin* (Ceased publication)

LEATHER WORKERS OF AMERICA, AMALGAMATED

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1901 Organized. Affiliated with AFL.
- 1913 Disbanded as national union, locals continuing as AFL federal locals.
- 1917 Locals merged with International United Brotherhood of Leather Workers on Horse Goods (q. v.); and Travelers'

Goods and Leather Novelty Workers International Union
(*q. v.*) to form United Leather Workers' International Union
(*q. v.*).

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
4th-7th ann., 1904-1907
2. Constitutions.
quad. 1901-1909
3. Journal.
Published as: (Olean, N. Y.)
1902-1904?: *The Amalgamated Leather Workers' Journal*

LEATHER WORKERS ON HORSE GOODS, INTERNATIONAL UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1895 Organized as United Brotherhood of Harness and Saddle Workers. Merged with National Association of Saddle and Harness Makers of America (*q. v.*) under name of former.
- 1896 Affiliated with AFL. Later in year changed name to United Brotherhood of Leather Workers on Horse Goods.
- 1903 Added "International" to name.
- 1917 Merged with Travelers' Goods and Leather Novelty Workers' International Union of America (*q. v.*) and AFL federal tannery locals, formerly organized as Amalgamated Leather Workers of America (*q. v.*), to form United Leather Workers' International Union (*q. v.*).

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
1st, 1896; [2nd, 1897; 3rd, 1898]; 4th, 1899; 5th, 1904; 1917
(4th, 5th, 1917 *with journal*)
2. Constitutions.
1897 (2 edns); ann. 1898-1903; 1904 (12 edns); ann. 1905-1907; 1909; 1910; 1913
3. Journal.
Published as: (Kansas City, Mo.)
1898-Sep 1917: *The Leather Workers' Journal* (Ceased publication)

LEATHER WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL UNION, UNITED

Address: 5th and Chestnut Sts., Philadelphia

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1917 Organized as result of merger of Travelers' Goods and Leather Workers' International Union (*q. v.*); International United Brotherhood of Leather Workers on Horse Goods (*q. v.*); and AFL federal tannery locals (formerly organized as Amalgamated Leather Workers of America (*q. v.*)). Affiliated with AFL.
- 1923 International Pocketbook Workers' Union (*q. v.*) affiliated with United Leather Workers' International Union as autonomous union.
- 1937 International Pocketbook Workers' Union withdrew and affiliated with AFL as international union under name of International Ladies' Handbag, Pocketbook and Novelty Workers Union (*q. v.*).

II. PUBLICATIONS

- 1. Proceedings.
[1917]; 1920
- 2. Reports.
President and Secretary-Treasurer: 1920/1921
- 3. Constitutions.
1917; 1920; 1933; 1937
- 4. Journal.
Published as: (Kansas City, Mo.)
1917-1926?: *The Leather Workers' Journal*

PAPER, NOVELTY AND TOY WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL UNION, UNITED

Address: 225 Lafayette St., New York

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1938 Organized as International Union of Playthings and Novelty Workers. Affiliated with CIO.
- 1940 Absorbed other CIO paper converting locals. Adopted present name.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
1st, 1940
2. Constitutions.
1940

**POCKETBOOK AND NOVELTY WORKERS UNION,
INTERNATIONAL LADIES' HANDBAG**

Address: 265 W. 14th St., New York

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1923 Organized by AFL federal locals and other locals as International Pocketbook Workers' Union. Affiliated with United Leather Workers' International Union (*q. v.*) as an autonomous union.
- 1937 Withdrew from United Leather Workers International Union and affiliated with AFL as international union under present name.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
[1st-4th bien., 1924-1930]; [5th, 1936; 6th, 1938]; 7th, 1939
2. Constitutions.
1936/1939
3. Journal.

Published as: (New York)

1923-Nov 1935?: *The International Pocketbook Worker*

1937-Oct 1939?: *Leathergoods Worker*

(V. 6 repeated in numbering. Suspended Feb 1929-Mar 1930, Jul 1931-Apr 1935; Dec 1935-1937. NS, 1935, 1937.)

**POWDER AND HIGH EXPLOSIVES WORKERS
OF AMERICA, UNITED**

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1901 Organized by group of AFL federal locals. Affiliated with AFL.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
spec., 1905; 3rd, 1907; 4th-6th ann., 1911-1913
2. Constitutions.
1911; 1915; 1925; 1930

RUBBER WORKERS OF AMERICA, UNITED

Address: 503 United Bldg., Akron

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1935 Organized. Affiliated with AFL.
 1936 Affiliated with CIO. Suspended by AFL.
 1938 Expelled from AFL.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
 1935; 1st-5th ann., 1936-1940
2. Reports.
 Officers and General Executive Board: 1940
3. Constitutions.
 ann. 1935-1938; 1940
4. Journal.
 Published as: (Akron)
 1936-1941+ : *United Rubber Worker*

SADDLE AND HARNESS MAKERS OF AMERICA, NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1887 Organized.
 1889 Affiliated with AFL.
 1895 Merged with United Brotherhood of Harness and Saddle
 Makers of America (*q. v.*).

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
 [2nd, 1888; 4th, 1890]; 5th, 1891; 6th, 1892
2. Constitutions.
 1892
3. Journal.
 Published as: (Boston; Dallas; Itasco, Tex.)
 Nov 1891-Oct 1892?: *The Saddle and Harness Makers'*
 Journal
 Mar 1894?-Feb 1895?: *Journeyman Saddle and Harness*
 Maker

TRAVELERS' GOODS AND LEATHER NOVELTY WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL UNION OF AMERICA

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1895 Organized as Trunk and Bag Workers' International Union of America.
- 1896 Affiliated with AFL.
- 1903 Changed name to Travelers' Goods and Leather Novelty Workers' International Union of America.
- 1917 Merged with United Brotherhood of Leather Workers on Horse Goods (*q. v.*) and AFL federal tannery workers, formerly organized as Amalgamated Leather Workers of America (*q. v.*), to form United Leather Workers' International Union (*q. v.*).

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
4th-6th quad., 1903-1911; (5th, 6th *with* journal)
2. Constitutions.
1896; 1900; 1902; 1903; 1907; 1908; 1912
3. Journal.
Published as: (St. Louis; Oshkosh, Wis.)
1904-Jan 1915: *Official Journal*
Feb 1915-Sep 1917: *Monthly Bulletin*
(Absorbed by *Leather Workers' Journal*, organ of United Leather Workers' International Union (*q. v.*).)

UPHOLSTERERS' INTERNATIONAL UNION OF NORTH AMERICA

Address: 2812 N. Broad St., Philadelphia

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1892 Organized under present name.
- 1900 Affiliated with AFL.
- 1913 Changed name to Upholsterers' and Trimmers' International Union of North America.
- 1921 Resumed present name.

- 1929 Changed name to Upholsterers', Carpet and Linoleum Mechanics' International Union of North America.
- 1937 Changed name to Upholsterers', Furniture, Carpet, Linoleum and Awning Workers' International Union of North America. Seceding faction organized United Furniture Workers of America (*q. v.*).
- 1938 Resumed present name.

II. PUBLICATIONS

- 1. Proceedings.
1st, 1895; 4th, 1903; 6th, 1909; 8th-17th bien., 1913-1931; 18th, 1935; 19th, 1937
- 2. Reports.
President: 1933
- 3. Constitutions.
1892; 1900; 1903; 1905; 1908; 1909; bien. 1913-1931; 1935; 1938; 1940
- 4. Journal.
Published as: (New York; Philadelphia)
1922-1941+ : *Upholsterers Journal*
(v. 17 repeated in numbering)

CHAPTER 13

Public Service

AMERICAN SECURITY UNION

Address: 1717 K St., N. W., Washington

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1940 Organized by former members of Workers' Alliance of America (*q. v.*) as union of unemployed, part-time and relief workers.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
1st, 1940
2. Constitutions.
1940
3. Journal.
Published as: (Washington)
Jul 1940-Apr 7, 1941: *Security News* (Ceased publication)

FEDERAL EMPLOYEES, NATIONAL FEDERATION OF

Address: 10 Independence Ave., S. W., Washington

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1917 Organized by group of AFL federal locals. Affiliated with AFL.
- 1932 Withdrew from AFL. Seceding faction organized American Federation of Government Employees (*q. v.*).

II. PUBLICATIONS (Code Number: F2)

1. Proceedings.
1st-7th ann., 1917-1923; 8th-16th bien., 1925-1941
2. Reports.
Officers: ann. 1918-1920; 1922; 1923
3. Constitutions.
ann. 1917-1919; ann. 1921-1923; bien. 1927-1931; 1935; 1939

4. Journal.

Published as: (Washington)

Oct 1917-1941+ : *The Federal Employee*

(Published Jul 1916-Oct 1918 by local which afterwards became part of National Federation of Federal Employees, but was endorsed as official organ of the Federation in Oct 1917.)

Editors:

Oct-Dec 1917: Florence Etheridge

1918-1923: Joseph C. Gurley

Jan-May 1924: William Ullman

Jun 1924-1941+ : Luther C. Steward

III. CRITIQUE OF PUBLICATIONS

The Federal Employee was established in 1916 by the Washington local of the Federal Employees' Union, a federal labor union of the AFL. The Washington local continued to issue the magazine even after the organization of the National Federation of Federal Employees in September 1917, but in October 1918 the national union took complete charge of the journal.

The NFFE was formed primarily to prevent adoption of the Borland amendment to the 1917-1918 appropriations bill, which provided for an increase in the working hours of government employees. The battle against this amendment was the main concern of *The Federal Employee* from 1916 until President Wilson vetoed the bill in June 1918. During this period the journal consisted of brief editorials, which were concerned solely with issues affecting federal employees, such as wages, hours, and retirement provisions; speeches made by persons outside the labor movement to locals of the NFFE; letters from members; and, occasionally, book reviews. In 1919 *The Federal Employee* became a weekly. About half of its pages were occupied by reprinted material, particularly reports of government agencies and speeches made in Congress. Letters from members were discontinued. Financial reports occurred irregularly until 1922 and then disappeared. From 1922 through 1941 *The Federal Employee* was again issued monthly, the normal size of the journal being thirty-two pages. Except for editorials, news from locals, and a few articles on subjects of concern to federal employees, the journal consisted entirely of material reprinted from other sources.

The NFFE has confined itself to the problems of government employees. It has had little contact with other labor organizations, and became even more isolated after its withdrawal from the AFL in 1932. Since it is Congress which grants appropriations and

frames civil service regulations, the NFFE concentrates its efforts on securing favorable legislation. Its legislative council drafts bills to be submitted to Congress. It is evident from the journal that the president and secretary of the union spend the greater part of their time conferring with congressmen about forthcoming legislation.

The most important objective of the union has been to raise and standardize the wages of government employees by improving the classification of civil service positions. Beginning in 1917 the NFFE agitated for a reclassification act which would standardize salaries and duties to be performed in government service. In 1923 such an act was passed, and from that time until 1927 the union demanded satisfactory administration of this act. After 1927 reclassification became a less pressing issue but was still important enough to precipitate the secession of the NFFE from the AFL. At the 1931 convention of the AFL, the executive council and later the delegates condemned a proposed reclassification act establishing a personnel classification board which would have final authority in setting wages. Since this was an administrative reform which the NFFE had advocated, the union considered the position of the convention hostile to the interests of government employees and withdrew from the AFL. *The Federal Employee* constantly stressed the need for reforming and extending reclassification provisions.

Although reclassification was the chief means by which the NFFE hoped to increase the wages of federal employees, other methods were constantly proposed. From 1918 until 1921 it advocated the Nolan bill providing minimum wages for government employees, which was killed by a House filibuster. The NFFE was instrumental in securing bonuses for government employees in the early twenties. During the depression of the early thirties, the proposed government economy program, which included reductions in the wages of federal employees, was of great concern to the union.

Retirement pensions was another important issue confronting government employees. From its inception, the NFFE urged liberalization of existing retirement arrangements. In 1930, the Retirement Act extended retirement coverage and increased the government's contribution to pensions. The union desired still further extensions, however, and retirement remained an issue through 1941.

Reducing patronage appointments in government service and increasing the number of positions covered by the civil service system were important objectives of the NFFE, especially from

1934 to 1941. During this period the NFFE attempted to bring such government agencies as the Civilian Conservation Corps under the Civil Service Commission, but had little success.

The convention proceedings of the NFFE consisted mainly of resolutions passed by the convention. Although the proceedings included some of the convention discussion, more discussion of resolutions occurred in the journal. Until 1925 the president's report was the only other large item in the proceedings. After 1925, important speeches made at the convention by government officials and congressmen were printed verbatim. The secretary's report was printed separately and distributed to the delegates. A few extracts from the secretary's report were reprinted in the journal, but all references to the finances of the union were omitted.

FEDERAL WORKERS OF AMERICA, UNITED

Address: 1338 I St., N. W., Washington

I. CHRONOLOGY

1937 Organized by seceding faction of American Federation of Government Employees (*q. v.*). Affiliated with CIO.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.

1st, 1940

2. Constitutions.

1940

3. Journal.

Published as: (Washington)

1937-Sep 1938: *Federal Organizer*

Oct 1938-1941+: *Federal Record*

FIRE FIGHTERS, INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF, 1918

Address: 901 Massachusetts Ave., Washington

I. CHRONOLOGY

1918 Organized. Affiliated with AFL.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
1st-7th ann., 1918-1924; 8th-15th bien., 1926-1940
2. Constitutions.
1918; 1923; 1931; 1938
3. Journal.
Published as: (Washington)
1918-1941+: *International Fire Fighter*

GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES, AMERICAN FEDERATION OF

Address: 900 F St., N. W., Washington

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1932 Organized by seceding faction of National Federation of Federal Employees (*q. v.*). Affiliated with AFL.
- 1937 Seceding faction organized United Federal Workers of America (*q. v.*).

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
1st-8th ann., 1932-1939
2. Constitutions.
1934; ann. 1936-1939; 1941
3. Journal.
Published as: (Washington)
Dec 29, 1933-1941+: *The Government Standard*

LETTER CARRIERS, NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF

Address: 901 Massachusetts Ave., N. W., Washington

I. CHRONOLOGY

1889 Organized.

1917 Affiliated with AFL.

II. PUBLICATIONS (Code Number: L2)

1. Proceedings.

1889; 1st-14th ann., 1890-1903; 15th-33rd bien., 1905-1941
(all *with* journal; 1889 *with* journal for 1909)

2. Constitutions.

1892; ann. 1894-1896; 1899; ann. 1902-1905; bien. 1907-1939

3. Journal.

Published as: (Washington)

1888-1941+: *The Postal Record*

Editors:

1891-Sep 1898: John Victory

Oct 1898-Oct 1924: Edward Cantwell

Nov 1924-1941+: Michael Finnan

III. CRITIQUE OF PUBLICATIONS

During the first two years after its formation, the National Association of Letter Carriers sponsored a section of *The Postal Record*, a journal for all postal employees published by a private company in Boston. In September 1891 John Victory, secretary of the NALC, bought *The Postal Record*, and from that time it served as the official organ of the union. In 1893, the NALC purchased the journal from him.

The early issues of the *Postal Record* described the post offices of the country and sketched the careers of local postmasters. In 1893 it introduced government reports, digests of meetings of state associations, and letters from members, most of which dealt with overtime pay for letter carriers. After 1898, the government reports were almost all superseded by articles showing an interest in the general labor movement; but by 1910 they were again prominent, as were excerpts from the Congressional Record.

The *Postal Record* changed little after 1910. Letters from members were published only before referendums, held on such questions as affiliation with the AFL and the adoption of biennial

conventions. News from branches and state associations occupied much space, and most of the remaining space was filled with reprinted material. By 1941, more than half of the journal consisted of reprinted articles, reports, and speeches.

The NALC has concerned itself solely with the problems of postal employees. Its affiliation with the AFL in October 1917 left unchanged its indifference toward the labor movement. Composed of government employees, it relies almost entirely on legislative tactics rather than on the usual collective bargaining processes.

Raising wages, reducing hours, and securing larger retirement pensions have been the main legislative objectives of the NALC. From 1917 to 1921 the union promoted the Nolan minimum wage bill, which was defeated. It was instrumental in securing a 1925 act increasing the wages of postal employees. During the depression of the thirties it opposed the governmental economy program, which entailed wage reductions for postal workers.

In the matter of working hours, it supported the Reilly Act of 1911, which provided that letter carriers should work only eight hours of the ten during which they were on call. In the same year a bill providing compensatory time for postal workers employed on Sunday was secured. The union has also campaigned against night work.

From 1893 to date the union has fought persistently for retirement pensions. In 1920, in response to the vigorous insistence of the NALC and other unions of government employees, the Retirement Act was passed. The union continued, however, to advocate amendments to the Act, and in 1930 the Retirement Act expanded benefits and enlarged the government's contribution. After 1930 retirement did not figure so prominently in the journal, but the union did not cease demands for further extensions.

The *Postal Record* often detailed the advantages of the union's benefit plans and urged members to subscribe to them. The NALC instituted a life insurance plan in 1893 which it maintained and for a time expanded. Its retirement benefits dwindled in importance, however, after the passage of retirement legislation. From 1910 to 1913 the NALC considered the establishment of a tuberculosis sanitarium, but finally rejected the project.

For the first ten years of its history the NALC suffered from a serious factional conflict. Since many second class post offices were not represented at the annual conventions, where policy was decided and officers elected, locals in these small post offices felt that the union was being run by a few large branches. They voiced their grievances in the journal and in conventions. By 1900,

a system of convention representation was devised which satisfied the second class offices and practically eliminated this source of conflict.

The union's convention proceedings are printed in its journal. With the exception of the first four conventions, the proceedings have been verbatim accounts, and include speeches to the convention, discussion of delegates, and officers' reports. The material contained in the convention proceedings parallels, though in greater detail, the subject matter of the journal.

LETTER CARRIERS, NATIONAL FEDERATION OF RURAL

Address: 323 N St., Elyria, O.

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1920 Organized by seceding faction of National Rural Letter Carriers' Association. Affiliated with AFL.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
1931; 1935; 1938; 1939; 1940 (all *with* journal)
2. Constitutions.
1920
3. Journal.
Published as: (Lamar, Col.; Mt. Morris, Ill.)
1922-Apr 1930: *The Message*
May 1930-1941+: *Rural Delivery Journal*
(Vs. 13-16 numbered vs. 3-6.)

MAIL ASSOCIATION, RAILWAY

Address: 901 Massachusetts Ave., N. W., Washington

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1891 Organized primarily as social group under name of National Association of Railway Postal Clerks.
- 1897 Established insurance department, becoming a mutual benefit society.

- 1904 Adopted present name.
- 1911 Seceding faction organized Brotherhood of Railway Postal Clerks (*q. v.*).
- 1917 Affiliated with AFL.
- 1919 Absorbed railway postal clerks belonging to National Federation of Postal Employees (*q. v.*).

II. PUBLICATIONS

- 1. Proceedings.
7th-16th ann., 1898-1907; 17th-21st ann., 1909-1913; 22nd-35th bien., 1915-1941 (9th-35th *with journal*)
- 2. Constitutions.
1906/1907; 1910/1911; 1915/1916; 1917/1918; 1919/1920;
1921/1923; 1923/1925; 1925/1927; 1927/1929; 1929/1931;
1931/1933; 1933/1935; 1935/1937; 1937/1939; 1939/1941
- 3. Journal.
Published as: (Kansas City, Mo.; Washington)
1898?-1941+ : *The Railway Post Office*
(NS, Aug 1899)

MESENTERS, THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF SPECIAL DELIVERY

Address: 301 1st St., S. E., Washington

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1932 Organized.
- 1937 Affiliated with AFL.

II. PUBLICATIONS

- 1. Constitutions.
1937; 1939
- 2. Journal.
Published as: (Washington)
1936-1941: *Special Messenger* (Ceased publication)

POLICEWOMEN, INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1915 Organized.
1929? Disbanded.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
10th, 1924
2. Journal.
Published as: (Washington)
1924-Jul 1927: . . . *Bulletin*
Aug 1927-Sep 1930: *Policewoman's International Bulletin*
(Ceased publication)

POST OFFICE CLERKS, NATIONAL FEDERATION OF

Address: 14th and New York Ave., N. W., Washington

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1906 Organized by seceding faction of United National Association of Post Office Clerks (*q. v.*). Affiliated with AFL.
- 1917 Merged with Brotherhood of Railway Postal Clerks (*q. v.*) to form National Federation of Postal Employees.
- 1919 Transferred railway postal clerks to Railway Mail Association (*q. v.*). Resumed original name.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
1st-18th ann., 1906-1933; 19th-22nd bien., 1935-1941 (all with journal)
2. Constitutions.
1907; 1908; ann. 1910-1913; bien. 1915-1939
3. Journal.
Published as: (Washington)
1903-Sep 1917: *Union Postal Clerk*
Oct 1917-Sep 1919: *The Union Postal Employee*
Oct 1919-1941+: *The Union Postal Clerk*

POST OFFICE CLERKS, UNITED NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF

Address: Colorado Bldg., Washington

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1890 Organized as National Association of Post Office Clerks.
- 1897 Seceding faction organized United Association of Post Office Clerks.
- 1899 Above organizations merged under name of United National Association of Post Office Clerks.
- 1906 Seceding faction organized National Federation of Post Office Clerks (*q. v.*).

II. PUBLICATIONS (Code Number: P1)

- 1. Proceedings.
 - 1st-16th ann., 1901-1915; 17th-32nd ann., 1917-1931; 33rd-37th bien., 1933-1941 (all *with* journal; 3rd, 22nd omitted in numbering)
- 2. Constitutions.
 - 1901; 1902; ann. 1905-1909; 1914; 1915; 1919; 1925; 1935
- 3. Journal.
 - Published as: (Mt. Morris, Ill.; Chicago; New York)
 - Dec 1901-Nov 1909: *The Postal Clerk*
 - Dec 1909-1941+: *The Post Office Clerk*
 - Editors:
 - 1901-1917: John T. Scott
 - 1918-Apr 1920: William F. Gibbons
 - May ? 1920-1924: John Barrett
 - 1925-1941+: Thomas P. Bassier

III. CRITIQUE OF PUBLICATIONS

The Postal Clerk, later re-named *The Post Office Clerk*, was first published in 1901, eleven years after the formation of the United National Association of Post Office Clerks. The early issues consisted almost entirely of news from local branches. By 1903, however, the journal had begun to assume the form which it has retained with relatively little change since that time. Letters from members, dealing mainly with working conditions in post offices, postal legislation and union matters, formed a continuing element in the journal, though they were most plentiful before 1905 and

after 1930. Reports of state conventions appeared as early as 1903 and were particularly detailed between 1905 and 1923; after 1923 the space allotted to them was considerably curtailed. Reprinted material also appeared early and has appeared continuously since. Most of this material dealt with the employment conditions of postal clerks and was reprinted from newspapers, the Congressional Record, and government reports.

The Association of Post Office Clerks has been interested only in the fortunes of postal employees. It has had little contact with other labor organizations, and its isolation became more pronounced as its struggle with the American Federation of Labor intensified. In 1905 a group of locals withdrew in protest against the conservative policies of the national officers and the refusal of the Association to affiliate with the AFL. These locals formed the National Federation of Postal Clerks and joined the AFL in 1906. The *Post Office Clerk* had much to say about this secession. The question of affiliation with the AFL and amalgamation of the two postal clerks' organizations was particularly important from 1914 to 1921. Officers of the two unions met to discuss a merger, but neither union was willing to surrender its autonomy and the negotiations failed. The Post Office Clerks refused to affiliate with the AFL unless the National Federation of Postal Clerks was dissolved. Since the AFL would not agree to the dissolution, the Post Office Clerks drew farther away from the Federation. Discussions of affiliation and amalgamation continued to appear after 1921, but they were characterized by denunciations of the rival union and of the AFL.

The locals of the Post Office Clerks are not allowed to strike, and since it is Congress which grants appropriations and sets civil service standards, the union must look primarily to legislation to improve the condition of its members. The president and other national officers of the union have always spent a large part of their time on promotion of legislation, and the energies of local unions have been devoted almost entirely to organizing legislative pressure.

From the formation of the Association vigorous efforts were made to persuade Congress to increase the wages of post office clerks. From 1917 until 1921, the union worked unsuccessfully for passage of the Nolan bill providing minimum wages for government employees. During the early twenties the Association, in a joint campaign with other organizations of government workers, helped to secure bonuses for federal employees. During the depression of the early thirties, proposals to effect budget economies

by reducing the wages of government employees gave the union great concern.

Retirement legislation was a favorite project, particularly from 1910 to 1918. The enactment of the Retirement Act in 1920 did not completely satisfy the union, which soon renewed its efforts to obtain better retirement legislation. Despite the extension of the pension system by the Retirement Act of 1930, the union continued to agitate for further liberalization of the retirement provisions.

The union also sought to improve the working schedules of postal clerks. From 1901 on it campaigned for reduction in the number of hours worked and especially urged the passage of an eight hour law. In 1911 it helped to secure passage of the Reilly Act, requiring only eight hours of work out of the ten for which clerks were on call daily. From 1909 to 1911 the union worked for Sunday closing of post offices or compensatory time for those clerks required to work on Sunday. Although it obtained compensatory time in 1911, it continued to press for stricter regulations concerning Sunday work. Night work was another object of attack. From 1921 on the union urged prohibition of night work on the ground that it injured employees' health.

Until 1935, when discussion on resolutions which failed to pass was omitted, the convention proceedings of the Post Office Clerks were verbatim records. While the proceedings and journal cover the same range of issues, the journal provides a more compact exposition of the union's policies and history.

POST OFFICE AND RAILWAY MAIL LABORERS, NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF

Address: 13004 150th St., South Ozone Park, N. Y.

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1912 Organized as National Association of Post Office Laborers.
1937 Affiliated with AFL under present name.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Constitutions.
1916

2. Journal.

Published as: (Los Angeles; Philadelphia)

May 1927-1937: *The Guidon* (Ceased publication)

1938-1941+: *Postal Laborer*

POSTAL CLERKS, BROTHERHOOD OF RAILWAY

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1911 Organized on temporary basis by seceding faction of Railway Mail Association (*q.v.*).
- 1913 Reorganized on permanent basis. Absorbed several AFL federal locals.
- 1914 Affiliated with AFL.
- 1917 Merged with National Federation of Post Office Clerks (*q.v.*) to form National Federation of Postal Employees (*q.v.*).

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Journal.

Published as: (Denver)

1911-Jan 1917: *The Harpoon*

(Absorbed by *Union Postal Clerk*, organ of National Federation of Post Office Clerks (*q.v.*). Privately published Jun 1909-1911.)

POSTAL EMPLOYEES, NATIONAL ALLIANCE OF

Address: 1944 9th St., N. W., Washington

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1913 Organized by Negro employees in railway mail service.
- 1923 Jurisdiction extended to include all Negro workers in the United States Postal Service.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Constitutions.

1929

2. Journal.

Published as: (St. Louis; Chicago; Detroit)

1915-1941+ : *Postal Alliance*

(Volume enumeration irregular.)

POSTAL SUPERVISORS, NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF

Address: P. O. Box 507, Louisville, Ky.

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1908 Organized as National Association of Supervisory Post Office Employees.
1922? Adopted present name.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Constitutions.
1928; 1933
2. Journal.
Published as: (Louisville, Ky.)
1916-Aug 1922: *The Post Office Supervisory Bulletin*
Sep 1922?-1941+: *The Postal Supervisor*

**STATE, CITY AND TOWN EMPLOYEES' UNIONS,
NATIONAL FEDERATION OF**

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1907 Organized.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
3rd, 1910; 9th, 1914
2. Constitutions.
1908

**STATE, COUNTY AND MUNICIPAL EMPLOYEES,
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF**

Address: Federation Bldg., Madison, Wis.

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1936 Organized by group of AFL federal locals which had been briefly under the jurisdiction of the American Federation of Government Employees (*q. v.*). Affiliated with AFL.

II. PUBLICATIONS (Code Number: S4)

1. Proceedings.
1st-3rd ann., 1936-1938; 4th, 1940
2. Constitutions.
1938; 1940
3. Journal.
Published as: (Madison, Wis.)
1937-1941+: *Journal of State and Local Government Employees*
Editor:
1937-1941+: Arnold Zander

III. CRITIQUE OF PUBLICATIONS

The American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, chartered by the AFL in 1936, brought together a group of federal locals whose organization had begun ten or fifteen years before. These locals had originally been connected with the American Federation of Government Employees but had separated from it because of its primary concern with the problems of federal employees.

The Federation is organized as a multi-industrial union. State charters are authorized for each type of state, county, or municipal institution—for example, state hospitals—and all persons employed in similar institutions in the state belong to one group. It maintains closer ties with the labor movement than do most unions of government employees, and is less exclusively interested in problems peculiar to its members. Its journal has borrowed extensively from the *American Federationist* and has devoted considerable space to examining labor and social legislation. It has, however, the interest in civil service legislation and administration common to all unions of government workers. It has strongly advocated extension of civil service methods in state and local governments and has opposed political influence in appointments. It has also opposed legislation making state employees subject to federal income taxation, from which they had previously been exempt. Litigation involving state employees who refused to pay federal income taxes was reported and discussed in the journal.

The journal has relied very heavily on material reprinted from other sources, principally in *American Federationist*, government reports, and speeches by prominent individuals. Members of the Federation have contributed to the journal only infrequently.

The convention proceedings of the Federation contain officers' reports, speeches to the convention, and lists of resolutions passed.

Some of the discussion of resolutions by delegates is printed, but the proceedings are not verbatim. The issues which arise in the conventions are the same as those discussed in the journal and involve no new subject matter. The officers' reports, however, provide additional information on the activities and administration of the union.

STATE, COUNTY AND MUNICIPAL WORKERS OF AMERICA

Address: 51 Chambers St., New York

I. CHRONOLOGY

1937. Organized by CIO.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.

1st, 1939

2. Reports.

Officers: 1939

3. Constitutions.

1939

4. Journal.

Published as: (Washington)

Oct 1937-Mar 1938: *The State, County and Municipal Employee*

Apr 1938-Jan 1939: *Employee*

Feb 1939-Aug 1940: *Government Guide* (Ceased publication)

WORKERS' ALLIANCE OF AMERICA

I. CHRONOLOGY

1935 Organized as non-partisan union of unemployed, part-time and relief workers.

1940 Former members organized American Security Union (q. v.).

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.

1st, 1935; 4th, 1938

2. Journal.

Published as: (Washington; Chicago; Washington)

Aug 1935-Aug 1936: *The Workers' Alliance*

1936-Mar 1938: *People's Press. Workers' Alliance Edition*

Mar 1938-Nov 1940: *Work. National Edition* (Ceased publication)

CHAPTER 14

Service Industries

BARBERS', HAIRDRESSERS' AND COSMETOLOGISTS' INTERNATIONAL UNION OF AMERICA, JOURNEYMEN

Address: Delaware and 12th Sts., Indianapolis

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1887 Organized as Journeymen Barbers' National Union by group of unions formerly in Knights of Labor.
- 1888 Affiliated with AFL under name of Journeymen Barbers' International Union of America.
- 1941 Adopted present name.

II. PUBLICATIONS (Code Number: B3)

- 1. Proceedings.
 - 5th, 1892; 9th, 1898; 10th, 1901; 11th, 1904; 12th-17th quin., 1909-1934; 18th, 1941
- 2. Constitutions.
 - 1887; ann. 1891-1893; 1896; 1898; 1899; 1901; quin. 1904-1934; 1941
- 3. Journal.
 - Published as: (Cleveland; Los Angeles; Indianapolis)
 - 1899-Jul 1903: *The Barber's Journal*
 - Feb 1905-Sep 1936: *The Journeyman Barber*
 - Oct 1936-1941+ : *The Journeyman Barber, Hairdresser and Cosmetologist*
 - (Suspended Aug 1903-Feb 1905. V. 14, nos. 9-12 marked v. 15, nos. 9-12.)
 - Editors:
 - 1899-Sep 1905: William E. Klapetzky
 - Oct 1905-Oct 1909: Jacob Fischer
 - Nov 1909-Jan 1915: William E. Klapetzky
 - Feb 1915-Apr 1929: Jacob Fischer
 - May 1929-Jan 1930: Leon Worthall
 - Feb-Oct 1930: Herman C. Wenzel
 - Nov 1930-1941+ : William C. Birthright

III. CRITIQUE OF PUBLICATIONS

After a short-lived publishing venture in 1889, the Barbers' Union succeeded in 1899 in establishing a monthly journal which, except for a brief suspension from 1903 to 1905, has been published continuously since that time.

The editorial section was at first devoted almost entirely to union affairs—organizing campaigns, improvements secured in working conditions, activities of employers' associations, reports of visits to locals by the general officers, and appeals to members to take part in legislative campaigns and to buy goods bearing the union label. In time, however, editorials were lengthened and their content broadened to include government activities and general problems of the labor movement. From 1929 onward, in particular, editorials discussed not only union problems such as the percentage system of wages, the effects of competition on the industry, campaigns for state licensing laws, and the barbers' code under the National Recovery Administration, but also such general questions as remedies for unemployment, recognition of Russia, labor legislation pending in Congress, and the activities of chambers of commerce.

The views of international officers were expressed also in special pages, of which the secretary-treasurer's page was probably the most important. Entitled the "Official Section" until 1911, it included lists of members suspended or fined, locals organized or disbanded, changes in union rules, decisions rendered by the international officers in appeal cases, results of referendum votes, and a detailed monthly financial statement. After 1930, this page included also the secretary's opinions on issues before the union and on current events. A president's page was introduced in 1911, and included originally administrative notices, official rulings, and executive board votes. This section was broadened after 1922 to include news of the union's successes in securing licensing and Sunday closing laws, results of organizing drives, working agreements endorsed, and general discussions of the meaning of trade unionism and the significance of current events. In 1936 the secretary-treasurer assumed the duties of the president in addition to his own, and the two pages were combined. In addition to the monthly financial report of the secretary-treasurer, an auditor's report appeared each September from 1909 to 1915 and each May and November from 1915 to 1935. In 1935 financial data were eliminated from the journal and were thereafter mailed to each local.

Organizers' reports were introduced into the journal in 1907. The general organizer, in addition to describing organizing drives, wrote editorial comments on current issues in the union and the labor movement. The traveling organizers wrote brief descriptions of their activities and the condition of the locals under their supervision. The office of general organizer was abolished in 1922, but reports of traveling organizers continued to be published. An intensive organizing drive, intended to restore the loss in membership suffered during the depression, was carried on from 1932 to 1935 and was reported in a special journal section entitled "Campaign News Reel."

The correspondence section was an important part of the early journals. Members commented on trade unionism in general and on particular issues under discussion in the journal; reported complaints and grievances of the locals, resolutions passed by the locals, attempts to secure higher wages and better hours, and strikes in progress; and contributed personal notes and news of social events. The correspondence section frequently reflected personal controversies and criticisms of the international officers or of other locals. In 1915 the executive board granted the new editor, Jacob Fischer, the right to refuse to publish articles which he considered detrimental to the interests of the union. Much of the former personal controversy disappeared from the journal after this time. Correspondence dwindled and became confined increasingly to social events and local working conditions, except in issues of the journal immediately preceding conventions. When the journal was reduced in size in 1918 because of the wartime paper shortage, the correspondence section was cut drastically and never regained its former size. Moreover, the union in 1919 passed a law which was interpreted as barring officers from publishing their opinions on proposed constitutional amendments. The resulting decline in discussion apparently discouraged members from expressing their own opinions on union legislation. From 1920 on contributions to the journal from the rank and file were negligible.

Articles reprinted from AFL publications and other sources appeared in the journal from the beginning. As the scope of the journal was expanded to include current events, news of the labor movement, and foreign labor news, reprinted articles occupied an increasing amount of space. This trend was particularly marked from 1929 on. Articles on hair styles, anatomy, diseases of the skin and scalp, and the elevation of the barber's trade to a profession, have been frequent since the middle twenties. A "Beauty Culturist" department, added to the journal in 1937, was devoted

largely to educational and technical articles, though the need for organization among workers in beauty parlors was also discussed. In general, technical and educational articles have been the dominant element in the journal in recent years.

Since the Barbers' union is composed of workers in a highly competitive service trade, it has faced certain problems not found in most American trade unions. The union early found it necessary to regulate the prices of barber shop services and the opening and closing hours of barber shops in order to secure satisfactory wages and working conditions. There has also been an unusual mutuality of interest between employers and employees because of the relative ease with which a journeyman barber can become an employing barber.

The Barbers' union has depended on legislative devices to an unusual degree, and most of the important questions treated in the journal have involved some sort of legislative campaign. The Barbers have endeavored from the beginning to secure Sunday closing laws or ordinances and by 1941 more than half of the states had legislation requiring Sunday closing. Agitation for state barbers' license laws also appeared in the journal almost as soon as the union was organized. License laws were desired in order to eliminate the competition of the "incompetent products of fly-by-night, learn-barbering-in-six-weeks schools." The arguments appearing in the journal, however, were based mainly on protection of the public from unsanitary shops and incompetent barbers. Most of the early discussions attempted to show the members how to secure passage of a license law; more recently, proper administration of existing laws has been emphasized. In September 1910 the union called a conference of members of state barber examining boards, which proceeded to draw up a model license law. Locals were urged to secure enactment of the model law, which was revised from time to time, in their states.

The easy transition from employee to employer produced persistent discussion in the journal of the status of the employing barber. The union rules originally provided that a journeyman who went into business for himself became ineligible for membership. If his venture failed and he rejoined the union, he found that he had lost his accrued benefit rights. The proponents of the "once a member, always a member" principle argued that it was unjust to place such a heavy penalty on ambition. On the other hand, opponents of this principle held that there was no place for employers in an organization of journeymen. The convention of 1924 finally established a special status, that of non-active beneficiary members, for union barbers who had become employers.

These members were allowed to continue dues payments and to receive benefits but could not participate in the control of union affairs.

The union's attempts to regulate prices and opening and closing hours of shops also produced frequent controversy. Some members held that these efforts encroached on the employer's prerogatives and that the union should control only wages and total hours of work. Other members maintained that if the union relaxed its control over prices and operating hours, the industry would lapse into price-cutting and hour-lengthening competition to the detriment of the journeyman barber. During the existence of the National Industrial Recovery Act the union was able to regulate prices and hours under an industry code. After this act was declared invalid, the union attempted to control competition by securing the passage of state unfair practice codes.

Two other issues which appeared frequently in the journal were the admission of women workers and the adoption of additional benefit plans. The first question was decided in 1924, when women as well as men were allowed to join the union after serving a three year apprenticeship. Not until 1929, however, when the convention lowered the apprenticeship requirement for beauty shop workers to one year, was there an effective effort to organize the women in this field. Proposals for a pension plan and a home for aged members were consistently defeated in both referendum and convention votes.

Union conventions were held annually from 1887 to 1894, biennially until 1900, triennially until 1904, and quinquennially thereafter. Discussion by delegates was not printed until 1909, but after that date it made up the largest part of the proceedings, which also contained officers' reports, committee reports, and the results of the election of officers.

From 1901 to 1909 the president's report dealt with the duties of officers, the president's expenses, vacancies on the general executive board, achievements of the union, conferences held, general policy, and recommendations for action by the convention. From 1909 to 1919 the report consisted mainly of the president's decisions in appeals cases, with an account of any investigations made into the cases. In 1924 President Shanessy broadened the scope of the report by adding comments on organizing policy, the shorter work day, Sunday closing, publicity for shop and license laws, trade schools, child labor, city and state federations of labor, the political policy of the AFL, and the Master Barbers Association. In 1934 several new topics were added, including racketeers and communists in trade unions, the National Industrial Recovery Act

barbers' code, the journal, and the headquarters building. The president's report in 1941 included the general secretary's report, the offices having been consolidated after the death of President Shanessy in 1936.

The proceedings of 1901 to 1914 contained vice-presidents' reports, which summarized the achievements of the union and contained suggestions for convention action. From 1901 to 1919 the general organizer reported on the activities of his department and submitted a list of locals organized during the year. The secretary's report contained membership statistics, lists of locals organized, suspended or disbanded, a financial report, and comments on such subjects as the shop card, license laws, the journal, working conditions, benefit funds, trade schools, lady barbers, and amendments to be submitted to the convention. The financial report covered inter-convention years and gave the receipts and expenditures of each fund by months and years.

BILL POSTERS AND BILLERS OF AMERICA, INTERNATIONAL ALLIANCE OF

Address: Room 820, Longacre Bldg., 42nd St. and Broadway,
New York

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1903 Organized by group of AFL federal locals as National Alliance of Bill Posters and Billers of America. Affiliated with AFL.
1907 Adopted present name.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
2nd, 1903; 5th, 1906; 6th, 1907
2. Constitutions.
ann. 1903-1907; 1920; 1922

BUILDING SERVICE EMPLOYEES' INTERNATIONAL UNION

Address: 130 N. Wells St., Chicago

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1917 Organized by group of AFL federal locals.
1921 Affiliated with AFL.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
7th, 1935; 8th, 1940
2. Constitutions.
1917; 1935; 1940
3. Journal.
Published as: (Chicago)
Oct 1929-Jun 1937: *Public Safety* (Ceased publication)

COMMUNICATIONS ASSOCIATION, THE AMERICAN

Address: 10 Bridges St., New York

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1931 Organized as American Radio Telegraphists' Association.
 1937 Affiliated with CIO.
 1938 Adopted present name. Marine Division continued to be known as American Radio Telegraphists' Association.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
4th, 1938; 5th, 1940
2. Constitutions.
1937; 1938; 1940
3. Journal.
Published as: (New York; Philadelphia; New York)
1935-Jun 1936: *Arta*
Jul-Oct 1936: *People's Press. ACA Edition*
Aug 20, 1938-1941+: *ACA News*

HOTEL AND RESTAURANT EMPLOYEES' INTERNATIONAL ALLIANCE AND BARTENDERS' INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE OF AMERICA

Address: 530 Walnut St., Cincinnati

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1890 Organized as Waiters and Bartenders' National Union of the United States.
 1891 Affiliated with AFL.

- 1892 Changed name to Hotel and Restaurant Employees' National Alliance.
- 1898 Adopted present name.
- 1929 Changed name to Hotel and Restaurant Employees' and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance.
- 1934 Resumed present name.

II. PUBLICATIONS

- 1. Proceedings.
[1st-5th ann., 1892-1896; 6th, 1898; 7th, 1899]; 8th-13th ann., 1900-1905; 14th-25th bien., 1907-1929; 26th-29th bien., 1932-1938; 30th, 1941 (13th-28th *with journal*)
- 2. Reports.
Officers: 1938
- 3. Constitutions.
1892; ann. 1899-1905; bien. 1907-1925; 1931; bien. 1934-1940; 1941
- 4. Journal.
Published as: (Cincinnati)
1890-Sep 1929: *The Mixer and Server*
Oct 1929-1941+: *The Catering Industry Employee*

LAUNDRY WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL UNION

Address: Room 812, 7 N. Meridian St., Indianapolis

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1900 Organized as Shirt, Waist and Laundry Workers' International Union. Affiliated with AFL.
- 1909 Transferred shirt workers to United Garment Workers of America (*q. v.*). Adopted present name.

II. PUBLICATIONS

- 1. Proceedings.
1st-6th ann., 1900-1905; 7th, 1909
- 2. Reports.
President: ann. 1910-1932
- 3. Constitutions.
ann. 1901-1905; 1908; 1909; 1914; 1916; 1919; 1925; trien. 1934-1940
- 4. Journal.
Published as: (Troy, N. Y.)
1903-1904?: *Official Journal* . . .

POLICE AND WATCHMEN, BROTHERHOOD OF PRIVATE

I. CHRONOLOGY

1920 Organized.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Journal.

Published as: (Mt. Morris, Ill.)

Jun 1921-Jan 1922?: *The Flashlight*

RETAIL CLERKS INTERNATIONAL PROTECTIVE ASSOCIATION

Address: Lock Drawer 248, Lafayette, Ind.

I. CHRONOLOGY

1890 Organized by group of AFL federal locals. Affiliated with AFL as Retail Clerks National Protective Association of America.

1899 Adopted present name.

1937 Expelled faction organized United Retail and Wholesale Employees of America (*q. v.*).

II. PUBLICATIONS (Code Number: C4)

1. Proceedings.

1st, 1891; 2nd, 1892; [3rd-7th ann., 1893-1897]; 8th, 1898; 9th, 1899; [10th, 1901]; 11th-14th bien., 1903-1909; 15th-17th trien., 1912-1918; 18th, 1924; 19th, 1939 (8th, 9th, 11th-18th *with* journal)

2. Constitutions.

1892; bien. 1899-1909; trien., 1912-1918; 1924; quad. 1931-1939

3. Journal.

Published as: (Denver; Lafayette, Ind.)

Nov 1893- ? 1901: *Retail Clerks National Advocate*

? 1901-1941+: *Retail Clerks International Advocate*

Editors:

1902-Jul 1909: Max Morris

Aug 1909-Mar 1926: H. J. Conway

Apr 1926-1941+: C. C. Coulter

III. CRITIQUE OF PUBLICATIONS

The Retail Clerks International Protective Association was founded in 1890 and its journal, the *Retail Clerks International Advocate*, in 1893, but no issues before 1902 are now available. The relative youth of the union influenced the monthly issues of its journal for that year. Attention centered on the activities and problems of the locals rather than on the achievements of the international. News from locals comprised more than half of each issue. Most of the remainder was made up of organizers' reports of their activities, official announcements to locals, and a long directory of local unions and their officers. The international office's only contributions were a detailed monthly financial statement, an occasional editorial or lead-off article, and clippings from other union journals.

From 1903 to 1907, a gradual change took place in the *Advocate's* make-up and subject matter. The section of local news was shortened, eventually to one page, though news items continued to appear also in correspondence from members. Organizers' reports were discontinued in 1904, the directory in 1903, and the financial statement in 1905. There was some increase in the number of editorials and articles, most of which discussed the Association's policies concerning hours of work, wages, union label, dues, and benefit plans, and described campaigns to organize various branches of the trade. The most marked change, however, was an increase in the number of articles reprinted from other union journals, from non-labor newspapers and periodicals, and from retail trade journals, which soon came to occupy the greater part of each issue. By the end of 1907 the only original material contained in the journal, apart from three or four editorials and a lead article, was a page of announcements and instructions from the international office to locals, a list of locals delinquent in per capita tax payments, and a statement of claims paid from the union benefit fund. Except for one brief period, the journal remained substantially the same in make-up and subject matter for the next twenty years.

The brief deviation from this pattern was inaugurated in February 1909 by Editor Max Morris with the announcement that ". . . the paper will be devoted in every article, in every page, in every thought and sentence to the battles of the international and its locals. . . ." This promise was kept in the next few issues. Detailed accounts of organizing campaigns, membership drives, and the Association's program for shorter hours and higher wages

supplanted almost all the reprinted material. The change was brief, for on the death of Morris in July 1909, H. J. Conway became editor and returned the journal to its previous form.

It has been noted that between 1907 and 1927 at least three-quarters of the *Advocate* consisted of reprinted material. Some of this pertained to trade unions and the labor movement, but most of it dealt with problems of salesmanship and merchandising or with subjects of an "uplift" nature, such as virtue, character, and morality. A considerable amount of the original material in the journal also concerned salesmanship and there were regular departments, which ran concurrently, entitled "Snappy Suggestions for Salespeople," "Merchants' Corner," "Window Display," "Advertising," and "Talks on Selling Points of Our Advertisers' Goods."

In the late twenties local news increased and more editorials and original articles appeared. Reprinted material declined and by the end of the thirties only a page of items from the AFL News Service and one salesmanship department remained. In July 1929 the *Advocate* became a bi-monthly.

The content of the journal indicates the basic interest of the Retail Clerks in organization, higher wages, and shorter hours. The journal described campaigns to organize drug store clerks from 1905 to 1910 and again in the early twenties, women clerks from 1910 to 1920, and chain store employees in the thirties. The impetus to organization provided by the National Industrial Recovery Act, and later by the competition of the rival Retail and Wholesale Employees Union (CIO), also left its mark on the journal.

The Retail Clerks have always been concerned with limiting the hours worked by retail employees. At first, the union fought for "early closing." News from locals, organizers' reports and editorials all described efforts to persuade or force merchants to close their stores at six o'clock and remain closed on Sundays. In 1906, however, union officials began recommending in the *Advocate* limitation of the total number of hours a week during which union stores might remain open, rather than insistence on particular closing hours. The movement for early closing was revived in the thirties during the organizing drives among chain store employees. The union campaigned also for the establishment of a union minimum wage and made repeated efforts to secure standard collective agreements providing uniform wages and hours for all organized retail employees.

The Association's benefit system was also of frequent concern to its officers and members. A sickness benefit plan was undertaken in 1905, and this was coupled in 1907 with a funeral benefit plan of some years standing. Sickness benefits were abolished in 1924. The advisability of these actions, together with proposals concerning the administration of the plans, were discussed at length in the *Advocate*.

The proceedings of the Association's conventions, which were printed in the September issue of the *Advocate* each convention year from 1903 to 1924, paralleled the issues discussed in the journal. The reports of the international president, secretary-treasurer, and executive board contained a great deal of information on the union's administration and finances, and on its policies concerning hours, wages, apprenticeship, benefit plans, and the union label. They also described outstanding incidents in organizing campaigns, strikes, and negotiations with merchants' associations.

Until 1915, the proceedings contained little besides officers' reports, resolutions, and constitutional amendments. Discussion of delegates was rarely printed. The 1915, 1918, and 1924 proceedings, however, furnished verbatim accounts of delegates' remarks and a synopsis of arguments made for and against amendments to the constitution. These accounts reveal conflicts of opinion among union members not evident elsewhere in the Association's publications. No convention was held from 1924 to 1939. The 1939 proceedings consisted principally of speeches, although officers' reports and resolutions were also included.

RETAIL, WHOLESALE, AND DEPARTMENT STORE EMPLOYEES OF AMERICA, UNITED

Address: 100 W. 42nd St., New York

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1937 Organized by expelled faction of Retail Clerks International Protective Association (*q. v.*) under name of United Retail and Wholesale Employees of America. Affiliated with CIO.
- 1941 Adopted present name.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
1st, 1937; 2nd, 1939
2. Constitutions.
1939
3. Journal.
Published as: (New York)
Oct 1937-Apr 1938: *The Retail Employee*
May 1938-1939: *CIO News. Retail and Wholesale Edition*
1940-Jan 1941: *The Retail and Wholesale Employee*
Feb 1941+: *The Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Employee*

**TELEGRAPHERS' UNION OF NORTH AMERICA,
COMMERCIAL**

Address: 5913 Georgia Ave., N. W., Washington

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1903 Organized under name of Commercial Telegraphers' Union of America as the result of merger of International Union of Commercial Telegraphers with Order of Commercial Telegraphers (formerly Brotherhood of Commercial Telegraphers). Affiliated with AFL.
- 1928 Adopted present name.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
1st, 1903; 2nd, 1904; 3rd-9th bien., 1906-1918; 10th 1919; 11th-13th bien., 1921-1925; 14th, 1928; 15th, 1930; 16th-19th bien., 1935-1941 (1st-17th with journal)
2. Constitutions.
1903; bien. 1904-1916; bien. 1919-1925; 1928; 1930; bien. 1935-1939
3. Journal.
Published as: (Chicago)
Jan-Mar 1903: *I. U. C. T. Journal*
Apr-Jul 1903: *Journal*
Aug 1903-1941+: *The Commercial Telegraphers' Journal*

CHAPTER 15

Professional and Entertainment Groups

ACTORS, AMERICAN FEDERATION OF

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1900 Organized as White Rats' Union. Affiliated with AFL.
- 1910 Merged with Actors' International Union under name of White Rats Actors' Union of America.
- 1919 Withdrew from AFL. Merged with Actors' Equity Association (*q. v.*) to form Associated Actors and Artistes of America (*q. v.*). Became an autonomous branch of Associated Actors and Artistes of America under name of American Artistes Federation.
- 1930 After period of inactivity withdrew from Associated Actors and Artistes of America.
- 1934 Revived as autonomous branch of Associated Actors and Artistes of America, under name of American Federation of Actors.
- 1939 Charter revoked by Associated Actors and Artistes of America, and American Guild of Variety Artists established which absorbed most of membership of American Federation of Actors.

1939 *See JATSE!*

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Constitutions.
1912; 1916
2. Journal.
Published as: (New York)
1907-1917?: *The Player* (Ceased publication)
1934-Aug 1939: *A. F. A. Reporter*
(Ceased publication. V. 7 omitted in numbering. NS, 1934.)

ACTORS AND ARTISTES OF AMERICA, ASSOCIATED

Address: 45 W. 47th St., New York

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1919 Organized as result of merger of White Rats Actors' Union of America (*q. v.*) and Actors' Equity Association (*q. v.*). Affiliated with AFL.

Branches at end of 1941:

Actors' Equity Association (*q. v.*)
 American Federation of Radio Artists
 American Guild of Musical Artists
 American Guild of Variety Artists (*q. v.*)
 Brother Artists Association
 Chorus Equity Association
 Hebrew Chorus Union
 Hungarian Actors and Artists Association
 Italian Actors Union
 Screen Actors Guild (*q. v.*)

ACTORS' EQUITY ASSOCIATION

Address: 45 W. 47th St., New York

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1913 Organized.
 1919 Merged with White Rats Actors' Union (*q. v.*) to form Associated Actors and Artistes of America (*q. v.*) remaining an autonomous branch of the Associated Actors and Artistes of America.
 1920 Absorbed Motion Picture Players' Union.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Constitutions.
 1913; 1926; 1928; 1931
2. Journal.
 Published as: (New York)
 Dec 1915-1941+: *Equity*
 (Early volume enumeration irregular.)

ACTORS GUILD, SCREEN

Address: 7046 Hollywood Blvd., Hollywood

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1933 Organized.
 1934 Affiliated with Associated Actors and Artistes of America (q. v.), as an autonomous branch.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Journal.

Published as: (Hollywood)

Mar-Jun 1934: *Screen Player*

Aug 1934-Jun 1936: *Screen Guilds' Magazine*

Jul 1936-Mar 1938: *Screen Guild Magazine*

Apr 1938-Apr 1940: *Official Bulletin* . . .

May 1940: *The Actor*

Jul 1940-1941+: *Screen Actor*

(*Screen Guilds' Magazine* was published jointly with Screen Writers' Guild.)

ARCHITECTS' AND DRAFTSMEN'S UNIONS, INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF TECHNICAL ENGINEERS'

Address: 901 Massachusetts Ave., N. W., Washington

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1918 Organized. Affiliated with AFL as International Federation of Draftsmen's Unions, although union has always included "Technical Engineers, Architects and" in name.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Constitutions.

1919; 1923; 1929; 1937; 1940

2. Journal.

Published as: (Washington)

Nov 1919-? : . . . *Official Journal*

? -Aug 1924?: *Monthly Bulletin*

? : *Engineering Outlook*

ARCHITECTS, ENGINEERS, CHEMISTS AND TECHNICIANS, INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF

Address: 5 Beekman St., New York

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1933 Organized.
1937 Affiliated with CIO.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
1st, 1934; 2nd, 1936; 3rd, 1937; 4th, 1938; 5th, 1940
2. Reports.
Officers: 1938; 1940
3. Constitutions.
1938
4. Journal.
Published as: (New York)
1934-1938: *Technical America*
1938-1941+: *CIO News. F. A. E. C. T. Edition*

MUSICAL AND THEATRICAL UNION, AMERICAN INTERNATIONAL

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1900 Organized as International Musical and Theatrical Union.
1905? Affiliated with Industrial Workers of the World (*q. v.*).
1909 Changed name to American International Musical and Theatrical Union.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Constitutions.
1910; 1914
2. Journal.
Published as: (New York)
Sep 1906-Aug 1912?: *The Bulletin*

MUSICIANS, AMERICAN FEDERATION OF

Address: 39 Division St., Newark

I. CHRONOLOGY

1896 Organized as trade union by branches of National League of Musicians of America, a professional society. Affiliated with AFL.

II. PUBLICATIONS (Code Number: M3)

1. Proceedings.
1st-5th ann., 1896-1900; [6th, 1901]; 7th-46th ann., 1902-1941
2. Constitutions.
1896; 1897; ann. 1901-1941 (1896, 1897 *with* proceedings)
3. Journal.

Published as: (Cincinnati; St. Louis; Newark)

1897-Nov 1899: *American Musician*

Dec 1899-Jun 1900: *Official Journal of the ...*

Jul 1900-1941+: *International Musician*

(*American Musician*, 1897-1903, a privately published journal, was the official organ of the American Federation of Musicians up to Dec 1900. NS, Jul 1900.)

Editors:

1897-Nov 1899?: Stephe S. Bonbright

Dec 1899-1904: Executive Board

1905: No editor listed

1906-Feb 1919: Owen Miller

Mar-May 1919: Otto Ostendorf

Jun 1919-Jun 1936: William Herngood

Jul 1936-1941+: Fred W. Birnbach

III. CRITIQUE OF PUBLICATIONS

Organization of musicians in the United States began as early as 1850. During the next fifty years many local unions were organized throughout the country and one national organization, the National Association of Musicians, was formed. The leaders of this Association, drawn from the larger locals, steadfastly refused to affiliate with organized labor in spite of considerable sentiment for such action among the membership. In 1896 the American Federation of Musicians was founded under AFL auspices and at once took steps to merge the two organizations.

Conciliation of ideals proved impossible, however, and the National Association died a lingering death, many of its most active members transferring to the AFM.

The activities and problems of the new Federation were fully discussed in officers' reports and conventions and, until about 1918, in the union journal. The Federation was based on three main principles: affiliation with organized labor; a constitutional structure designed to prevent control of the organization by the larger locals; and free transferability of membership among locals. The necessity of this third principle arose from the increasingly migratory character of the musician's work. In the early days many local unions attempted to meet the competition of traveling bands by refusing membership to the newcomers. As the unions gained an increasing number of closed shop agreements this policy raised acute problems. Before 1900, therefore, the AFM established the principle of open membership, and restrictions which the locals attempted to impose in succeeding years were regularly overruled by the international. The union law also provided, however, that traveling musicians must pay in to the union a percentage of all income received above the local minimum, the money being divided between the international and the local concerned. This law naturally proved difficult to enforce and was amended and adjusted many times.

The policy of open membership provoked a serious crisis in the union in 1903. The New York local, perhaps the strongest in the country, continued to refuse transfers in direct disobedience of the international's laws and other locals complained to headquarters. The dispute resulted finally in reorganization of the local under direction of the international board and blacklisting of the local officers who had led the opposition. Disputes of this sort, and jurisdictional disputes with other musicians' groups, were frequent during the first fifteen years of the union's life.

In addition to regulating competition among its members, the Federation early undertook to combat the competition of Army and Navy bands, amateur musical organizations, and alien musicians. In 1908 it secured passage of a law prohibiting enlisted bands from competing with civilian musicians. An even more comprehensive law on this subject was passed in 1916, and the union has since been concerned largely with combating adverse interpretations of this law by government officials. Much less success has been achieved in controlling the competition of amateur musical organizations; this has remained a recurring problem and has been the source of many strikes and boycotts. Alien musicians

migrating individually to this country were welcomed into the union; but the musician who came already hired as a member of a band or orchestra was refused membership and put on the Federation blacklist. Attempts to meet this latter form of competition were made both *via* the immigration laws and *via* agreements with European musicians' unions for interchange of membership and mutual observance of each other's laws.

The Musicians early realized the necessity of a defense fund and of cooperative action with other unions. The general defense fund created at the inception of the union was found to operate inequitably; all musicians contributed to the fund but the theatre musicians derived most of the benefits, since a strike can occur only where there is a permanent engagement. A separate theatre defense fund was therefore opened, and has since formed one of the main elements in the union's strength. An agreement was also reached very early with the International Association of Theatrical Stage Employees, binding each union to assist the other in any controversy at any time. Individuals and locals in the AFM have frequently demurred at giving up employment opportunities when no personal advantage was in prospect, but these difficulties have almost always been adjusted by the district and international officers.

The Federation established a legislative representative in Washington during the twenties. The staff of this office was considerably expanded after 1933 to enable it to handle such problems as National Recovery Administration codes, application of the Social Security Act to musicians, and the management of federal music projects under the Works Progress Administration.

The most important problem facing the union in recent years has been technological unemployment caused by improvements in mechanical methods of reproducing and disseminating music. The moving-picture and radio industries at first provided greatly increased employment opportunities for musicians, but more recently the development of talking films and the growing use of recordings in radio studios has drastically curtailed these opportunities. The union's effort to preserve job opportunities for its members has taken such forms as limiting the use of recordings in radio broadcasting; requiring that studio orchestras be hired to stand by while recordings are played; requiring theatre managers to employ musicians even for shows which do not need them; opposing the use of "piped" and other mechanically-produced music in public places; opposing the spread of "juke boxes"; limiting the use of "dubbing"—a process whereby the sound track from one moving picture is used for a second to avoid hiring musicians;

and preventing the stealing of music through secret recordings. These policies have brought the union into continual conflict with the industries concerned.

An outstanding incident in this struggle was the three-way controversy in the early forties among the AFM, the radio networks, and the American Society of Composers, Authors, and Publishers. The AFM and ASCAP had long had an agreement under which the AFM, by paying a lump-sum royalty, secured for its members the right to play ASCAP music anywhere at any time. When, however, ASCAP and the radio networks became involved in a dispute over the royalties to be paid for using recordings of ASCAP music, the AFM also entered the fight in the hope of checking the growing use of recordings which was undermining its position in the radio industry. ASCAP demanded more money from the Musicians, and both demanded more money from the radio companies. The first phase of this struggle resulted in an inconclusive truce yielding some gains to ASCAP and the AFM, but the issue had not really been resolved at the close of the period studied.

The officers' reports and convention proceedings provided detailed information on all aspects of the union's business. A great deal of power to interpret and apply the regulations was vested from the beginning in the president and the executive board. The officers reported in detail to the annual convention on the exercise of these powers, including in their reports a large amount of correspondence and other supporting data; some of this supporting material was omitted after the middle thirties, possibly because of its increasing volume. The reports of the committees on officers' reports provided additional information on the management of the union. A certified accountant's report on union finances was also submitted to each convention.

In the early years of the union, the journal also provided a rather detailed discussion of union activities in editorials, correspondence, and monthly reports of union officers. Following the death of the first secretary and editor, however, it ceased to publish monthly reports, editorials, or any other significant commentary on union affairs. From about 1918 until 1932 the journal consisted largely of proverbs and anecdotes, unfair lists and notices from the president, and lengthy reports of members initiated, transferred, and suspended. To this was added in the early thirties columns covering various phases of the music business. Columns on the technique of playing various instruments and notices of job opportunities for musicians were also added, and by 1941 occupied three or four pages of each issue.

NEWSPAPER GUILD, AMERICAN

Address: 63 Park Row, New York

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1933 Organized.
- 1936 Affiliated with AFL.
- 1937 Withdrew from AFL and affiliated with CIO.

II. PUBLICATIONS

- 1. Proceedings.
7th, 1940; 8th, 1941
- 2. Constitutions.
1933; ann. 1936-1940
- 3. Journal.
Published as: (New York)
1933-1941+ : *The Guild Reporter*

OFFICE AND PROFESSIONAL WORKERS OF AMERICA, UNITED

Address: 8 W. 40th St., New York

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1937 Organized. Affiliated with CIO.

II. PUBLICATIONS

- 1. Proceedings.
1st, 1937; 2nd, 1938; 3rd, 1940
- 2. Constitutions.
1937; 1940
- 3. Journal.
Published as: (New York)
1938-Jan 1939: *The Ledger*
Feb 1939-Jan 1940: *UOPWA News*
Feb 1940-1941+ : *Office and Professional News*
(*The Ledger* was published Feb 1935-1937 by a local which later became a local of United Office and Professional Workers of America.)

STAGE EMPLOYES AND MOVING PICTURE MACHINE OPERATORS OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA, INTERNATIONAL ALLIANCE OF THEATRICAL

Address: 803 International Bldg., 630 Fifth Ave., New York

I. CHRONOLOGY.

- 1893 Organized as National Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employes of the United States.
- 1894 Affiliated with AFL.
- 1899 Words "and Canada" added to name.
- 1902 Changed name to International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employes of the United States and Canada.
- 1915 Adopted present name.

II. PUBLICATIONS

- 1. Proceedings.
1st-21st ann., 1893-1913; 22nd-24th bien., 1915-1919; 25th-35th bien., 1920-1940
- 2. Constitutions.
1898; 1902; Jan 1906; Oct 1906; ann. 1907-1913; 1915; 1919; bien. 1920-1932; 1936; 1938
- 3. Journal.
Published as: (Chicago; New York)
Apr-Jul 1910?: *Journal of the . . .*
1915-May 1920?: *Official Trade Journal*
Dec 1935-1941+: *General Bulletin*

TEACHERS, AMERICAN FEDERATION OF

Address: 506 S. Wabash Ave., Chicago

I. CHRONOLOGY

1916 Organized by group of AFL federal locals. Affiliated with AFL.

II. PUBLICATIONS (Code Number: T4)

1. Proceedings.
6th-25th ann., 1922-1941 (7th, 10th, 11th, 16th, 17th, 19th with journal)
2. Constitutions.
ann. 1918-1920; 1922; 1925; 1933; 1936; 1938; 1940; 1941
3. Journal.

Published as: (New York; Chicago)

Sep 1916-Feb 1921: *The American Teacher*

Sep 1921-May 1926: *Monthly Bulletin*

Sep 1926-1941+: *The American Teacher*

(*The American Teacher* was published from 1912 to Sep 1916 by the New York Teachers' Union, which in 1916 became a local of American Federation of Teachers. *The American Teacher* was suspended Mar 1921-Aug 1926 during which period the *Bulletin*, which for a short time was called *Bulletin of the . . .*, was published.)

Editors:

1918?-Mar 1921: Henry R. Linville

Sep 1926-May 1930: Florence C. Hanson

Oct 1930-Jun 1931: Florence C. Hanson and Lucie W. Allen

Oct 1931-Feb 1932: Lucie W. Allen

Mar 1932-May/Jun 1935: Florence C. Hanson

Sep 1937-Jun 1938: Board of Editors

Nov 1938-1941+: George T. Guernsey

III. CRITIQUE OF PUBLICATIONS

The *American Teacher* was first published in 1912 by the New York Teachers' Union (later Local 5 of the American Federation of Teachers). When eight scattered locals amalgamated in 1916 to form a national federation, this journal became the official organ of the federation. The journal has been published as a monthly throughout most of the period since 1916, though it was suspended and replaced by a monthly bulletin from 1921 to 1926, and was issued bi-monthly from 1932 to 1935.

Until 1921, the greater part of each issue consisted of editorials, reports from locals, and correspondence from members. The nature and content of this material reflected the efforts of a new union to become established. National and local officers used the journal as a forum in which to discuss organizing drives and methods of consolidating their gains.

When the journal was revived in 1926 after a five-year suspension, its content was greatly changed. Correspondence and local news were given much less space, and the journal consisted primarily of articles, general news and material reprinted from other sources. Considerable space was given to articles on educational techniques and methods, written partly by union members and partly by educators outside the labor movement. There was an increase also in articles and news notes on legislation, political movements, foreign affairs, school conditions, workers' education, and other problems facing teachers and the labor movement in general. During 1927-1928 several issues were devoted exclusively to articles by union members from a particular area on the problems faced by local unions in their area. The areas covered included the South, the Pacific Coast, Chicago, New York, and the Twin Cities. A considerable amount of reprinted material was included, particularly between 1926 and 1934, drawn largely from other union or educational journals. Throughout its publication the journal has carried a page or two of general news pertaining to teachers, education and the labor movement, and a book review section.

In the years before 1921, the leading issue in editorials, articles, and correspondence was: "Should members of professions organize, and if so, should they affiliate with organized labor?" Discussion of this issue continued at intervals throughout the later years, but became less prominent after 1928. Much space was given also to two other issues of special concern to teachers: promotion of workers' education, and protection of teachers' rights to tenure and freedom of speech. Case histories of discharged teachers frequently appeared, and the problem of securing and enforcing tenure legislation received special attention.

Between 1931 and 1934 the Federation was much concerned with the campaigns to reduce public school budgets, which were going on in many areas, and in the period 1934-37 there were extensive discussions of the necessity for federal and state aid for schools. During 1937 and 1938 the Federation was considering whether to affiliate with the CIO or to remain in the AFL, and letters from members defending both points of view appeared in the journal.

Between 1939 and 1941, entire issues were devoted to special topics—race discrimination, the operation of federal relief agencies, communism and fascism, and the expulsion of certain locals from the international after a factional conflict.

Verbatim reports have been published for only a few of the union's twenty-five conventions. More frequently, condensed accounts of the conventions have been given either in subsequent issues of the journal (7th, 10th, 11th, 17th, 19th) or in separate mimeographed reports (20th-24th). The condensed accounts of proceedings summarize most of the speeches and committee reports but record virtually none of the discussion. The bulk of these proceedings is devoted to resolutions adopted at the convention.

In the verbatim accounts of convention proceedings, the most extensive committee reports were those dealing with legislation. The report of the legislative representative dealt with legislation under consideration by Congress and the efforts of the union to support or defeat particular measures. The report of the legislative committee stated the Federation's policies on specific subjects which can be affected by legislation, such as tenure, wages, pensions, and workmen's compensation. The report of this committee dealt also with the activities of local unions with respect to state legislation. Problems involving legislation were also considered by the committees on academic freedom and tenure, pensions, and education.

CHAPTER 16

Federations of Labor

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

Address: 901 Massachusetts Ave., N. W., Washington

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1881 Organized as Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada.
- 1886 Adopted present name.
- 1935 Group of affiliated international unions formed Committee for Industrial Organization (*q. v.*).
- 1936 Suspended CIO-affiliated unions.
- 1938 Expelled CIO-affiliated unions.

II. PUBLICATIONS (Code Number: A1)

- 1. Proceedings.
 - 1st-61st ann., 1881-1941 (7th, 8th marked 2nd, 3rd)
- 2. Constitutions.
 - ann. 1886-1889; 1890?; 1898; 1899; ann. 1901-1937; 1940; 1941
- 3. Journal.
 - Published as: (New York; Indianapolis; Washington)
 - Mar 1894-1941+: *The American Federationist*
(V. 47, Jul-Dec 1940, incorrectly numbered 48.)
 - Editors:
 - Mar 1894-Jan 1895: Samuel Gompers
 - Feb 1895-Jan 1896: John McBride
 - Feb 1896-1924: Samuel Gompers
 - 1925-1941+: William Green

III. CRITIQUE OF PUBLICATIONS

The American Federationist, official organ of the AFL, was founded in 1894. President Samuel Gompers was its first editor and, with the exception of one year, continued as editor until his death in 1924. Throughout this period, editorials occupied about one-third of the journal, or between nine and twenty-five pages.

Another third of the journal was devoted to articles on labor subjects, and the remainder to reports and miscellaneous items. In addition to writing the editorials, Gompers contributed frequent signed articles, and the texts of his speeches and reports on his travels abroad were also printed. The entire magazine, indeed, bore the imprint of Gompers' personality and expressed his philosophy of trade unionism.

Gompers' editorials covered a wide variety of subjects, including the principles of trade unionism, important developments in the labor movement, labor legislation, and other issues of national policy. His most important legislative demands were for restriction of immigration, enactment of workmen's compensation laws, elimination of child labor, and amendment or repeal of the Sherman Act. Much space was also given to defense of the legality of strikes and boycotts, opposition to compulsory arbitration and other forms of government intervention in labor disputes, and criticism of state legislation restricting union activities. During the first World War, Gompers advocated complete cooperation with the government's war policies and voluntary suspension of the right to strike, but demanded that labor standards be protected and that labor be represented on war agencies. He supported the peace treaty of 1919, and advocated entrance of the United States into the League of Nations and the World Court. While most of the editorials dealt with problems common to all organized labor, there was also frequent discussion of the internal conflicts, strikes, and collective bargaining or legislative victories of particular internationals. The unions of mine workers, railroad workers, clothing workers, textile workers, and federal employees were given particular attention. The editorials occasionally incorporated copies of Gompers' correspondence with government officials or union leaders on the subject in question.

Almost all the articles in the *Federationist* were written especially for the magazine by labor leaders, government officials, churchmen, and educators. Many of these articles were reprinted in the journals of affiliated internationals. Some of the articles described the history, policies, and achievements of particular internationals. Most of them, however, dealt with more general subjects, such as the origins and history of trade unionism, the effects of technological change, theories of wages, the functions of money, taxation, women workers, child labor, education, recent court decisions, legislation on labor subjects, the relation of labor to the war effort during World War I, the International Federation of Trade Unions, the Pan-American Federation of Labor, and the

International Labor Office. The journal also published frequent symposiums by union leaders, government officials, and educators. The subjects discussed included unemployment, technical change, the principles of trade unionism, labor's position in the economy, labor's status in war-time, and important labor laws.

The remainder of the journal consisted of reports of the AFL legislative committee on pending legislation, copies of public statements and addresses made by AFL officials, reports of conventions of AFL departments, excerpts from the executive council's reports to AFL conventions and from important convention addresses, official announcements, financial reports (through August 1918), letters from the secretaries of affiliated internationals or of state and city federations, letters from organizers, book reviews, and columns of news notes on labor developments in the United States and abroad. An entire issue was occasionally devoted to a single important subject, such as the Buck Stove and Range case, the passage of the Clayton Act, the factional conflict between the communist and anti-communist elements in the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union in the late twenties, and the southern organizing campaign undertaken by the AFL in 1929. During presidential election years the journal printed the AFL platform submitted to the two major parties and discussed the parties' position on each issue. The records of candidates for federal office were also discussed.

Running through the *Federationist*, and particularly through Gompers' editorials and articles, were certain principles of trade union organization and tactics. Outstanding among these were a distrust of Marxism and other revolutionary doctrines; opposition to affiliation of trade unions with the Socialist party or some "labor" party; a belief that labor's objectives could be achieved through collective bargaining, and that the main function of political action was to remove legislative and judicial restraints on the unions' economic activities; a belief that necessary political objectives could be achieved by bargaining with candidates of the two major parties; opposition to government regulation of relations between unions and employers; emphasis on immediate improvement of wages and working conditions rather than on a transformation of the social order in the distant future; belief in the superior cohesiveness of unions of skilled workers organized on craft lines; adherence to the principle of exclusive jurisdiction and strong condemnation of "dual" organizations; encouragement of alliances or federations of kindred trades under AFL auspices; and emphasis on the autonomy of international unions and the strictly

limited nature of the AFL's powers. These principles, constantly expounded in the journal and in Gompers' reports and speeches to conventions, have dominated the statements of AFL policy in its publications from the nineties to the present day.

The death of Gompers in 1924 and the election of William Green as his successor did not result in any change in the editorial policy or the general arrangement of the journal. The editorial section was reduced to seven pages, and articles expanded to occupy about half the magazine. The number of special features was also increased, and the journal almost doubled in size.

Soon after Green's assumption of office, the journal showed an increased interest in educational and cultural activities. Articles on workers' summer schools, union educational activities, and the progressive education movement, which had begun to appear about 1919, increased in number. From 1923 on, most of the material on these subjects was furnished by the Workers' Education Bureau, an independent organization with which the AFL cooperated. The Bureau held conferences on such subjects as prevention of unemployment, elimination of waste in industry, and the principles of industrial relations. The speeches of economists, engineers, and other participants in these conferences appeared in the *Federationist*.

The late twenties also saw a marked emphasis on union-management cooperation to achieve increased industrial efficiency, accompanied by a demand that increased efficiency be reflected in higher wage rates. Only in this way, it was argued, could the worker's real income be raised more rapidly than that of other consumers and his relative economic position improved. From October 1927 through 1929 the journal published indexes which attempted to compare labor's productive contribution with its share in consumption. Statistical techniques were also applied increasingly to other current problems. Beginning in 1927, the journal contained monthly estimates of unemployment, comparisons of wage rates in organized and unorganized shops, and data on wages and employment in various industries. After 1933 there were frequent attempts to measure the effects of the National Recovery Administration and other anti-depression programs.

During the depression of the early thirties articles and editorials attempted to explain the depression and suggest recovery measures. After 1933, the labor and social legislation of the Roosevelt administration received primary attention. Under the protection of Section 7A of the National Industrial Recovery Act and later of the National Labor Relations Act, the AFL began to organ-

ize federal locals on a large scale. A section of the journal discussed the problems of these locals, instructed them in collective bargaining methods, and contained copies of agreements signed. The journal scarcely mentioned the formation of the CIO in 1935 and the subsequent split in the labor movement, though this subject was discussed extensively in AFL conventions.

In July 1940, the format of *The American Federationist* was completely changed. The page size was enlarged and the number of pages reduced to thirty-two, a more informal style of writing was adopted, and the journal was further enlivened by the addition of many pictures and new features. Editorials now occupy only two pages, and both editorials and articles are shorter. Among the new features are "Labor Personality of the Month," a biographical sketch of a union leader; "The Other Fellow's Job," a description of a particular occupation; a "Junior Union Page"; and "What They Say," which contains excerpts from speeches and writings on labor matters. Since July 1940, editorials and articles have been primarily concerned with labor's role in the national defense program. Even before the United States entered the war, the Federation favored aid to Britain and opposed strikes in armament industries. At the same time, however, it warned against alteration of labor standards, demanded labor representation on war agencies, and emphasized the need of additional housing for workers in war industries.

While the *Federationist*, particularly in its editorial section, has reflected the growth and problems of the AFL, these matters have been reported more completely and systematically to the annual conventions, particularly in the officers' reports. From 1881 until 1900 the proceedings gave only brief summaries of the actions taken by the convention, except for occasional inclusion of particularly important discussions, such as the debate between socialists and non-socialists in the 1890 convention. An increasing amount of discussion was included after 1900, particularly in the case of jurisdictional disputes between affiliated unions and socialist proposals for political action. Since 1927 discussion in the convention has been reported in full.

Until 1886 the main report to the convention was that of the legislative committee, which included the principal Federation officers. This report was usually brief and discussed the organizing work of the Federation, its financial condition, the strike assistance rendered to affiliated unions, and the committee's work in connection with legislation.

From 1887 until 1912 the president submitted the principal report. After 1912, a single report of the executive council was presented, but the guiding hand of President Gompers was evident in its arrangement and content. These reports expressed the attitude of AFL leaders toward economic and political developments, and elaborated on the basic AFL principles already noted.

The president's report, and after 1912 the executive council's report, contained extensive discussion of legislative measures and of the Federation's activities with respect to each measure. Almost every report discussed legislation dealing with the eight-hour day for government workers, child labor, immigration, contract labor, prison labor, industrial safety, election procedure, reform of the judiciary, the use of injunctions in labor disputes, and the anti-trust laws. The report also discussed the increase in membership of federal locals and of all AFL affiliates during the year, important strikes and their outcome, jurisdictional disputes between internationals, the work of the various AFL departments, important court decisions affecting labor, the progress of the labor movement in Canada and Puerto Rico, relations with European and South American labor movements, economic conditions in the United States, political developments and AFL political activities, and the work of government agencies dealing with labor matters. There has been no marked change in the character of the executive council's report since 1912, though it has become steadily longer, more detailed, and possibly somewhat broader in its coverage of economic and political developments.

The secretary's report was in the beginning a very brief discussion of receipts and expenditures, correspondence handled, and the problems of conducting the secretary's office. Other matters were added from year to year, until by 1903 the report contained an itemized statement of monthly receipts and expenditures for the previous year; a comparative summary of receipts and expenses since 1887; a list of charters issued and revoked; a statement of each affiliated union's membership and number of locals; a compilation showing the number of strikes waged by each affiliated union, the number won, lost and compromised, the number of members involved, the cost of the strike, and any increase in wages or reductions of hours secured; a report of the amounts paid out in various types of benefit by each affiliate; and a list of unions using labels. This report has been presented in substantially the same form from 1903 to date, except that collection of strike and membership statistics from each affiliated union ceased in 1921, while the report of benefits paid out was abandoned in 1927.

In addition to the financial data appearing in the secretary's report, the proceedings contained a treasurer's report from 1882 to 1936 (at which time the offices of secretary and treasurer were merged), and an auditing committee report from 1882 to date. Beginning about 1904, these two reports listed the Federation's assets and the depositories of its funds.

The first major problem reflected in the Federation's publications was that of its relations with the Knights of Labor. Rivalry between the two organizations was particularly intense for several years after 1885, as the Knights chartered more and more national trade assemblies which paralleled the national trade unions included in the AFL. In 1889 a special AFL committee on relations with other organizations reported to the convention that the controversy could be resolved only if the Knights would revoke the charters of all their national trade assemblies, in return for which the AFL would urge its members to join the mixed assemblies of the Knights. After further negotiations, the president reported in 1892 that agreement with the Knights was apparently impossible, and from this time on the Knights were mentioned only rarely in the convention proceedings.

From 1890 to the present time the most serious controversies within the Federation have revolved around the three issues of industrial versus craft union organization, the relative importance of political and economic action, and the relation of the trade unions to leftist political parties. A majority of the delegates to AFL conventions has almost invariably adhered to the Gompers position on these subjects. At most times, however, there has been a large and vocal minority, whose views have been expounded at some length in convention discussions. In general, this minority has advocated mass organization of labor in industrial unions and greater concentration on political objectives. In addition, there has been a socialist (or more recently socialist and communist) group which, while supporting the advocates of industrial unionism, has also urged the mobilization of trade union support behind some existing leftist party or a new "labor party."

Dissension between socialists and non-socialists broke into the open in the 1890 convention over the question of whether to seat delegates from the New York City Federation of Labor, which included a branch of the Socialist Labor party. President Gompers' opposition to seating these delegates was upheld by the convention. Almost every convention during the nineties found the socialists introducing resolutions calling for collective ownership of the means of production and AFL support of a political

party, preferably the Socialist party. In 1894 the socialists and their sympathizers were strong enough to unseat Gompers and elect John McBride of the United Mine Workers to the presidency of the Federation. Gompers was returned to office in 1895 by a very narrow margin. In 1898, however, resolutions introduced by the socialists were defeated by a four to one vote, and they suffered similar defeats in 1902 and 1903. By 1905 the socialists had apparently abandoned hope of controlling the Federation and assumed the role of a permanent opposition. At about this time, also, Gompers formulated the policy of non-partisan political activity, or "elect your friends, defeat your enemies," which rapidly became the accepted political policy of the Federation.

The socialists and other left-wing groups continued, however, as active critics of AFL policy. In 1911 the socialist leaders of the Brewery Workers' Union submitted a resolution calling for election of AFL officers by referendum vote. The convention referred the resolution to the executive council, and it was defeated in 1912 after the council had reported it unfavorably. There was further discussion of the initiative and referendum system, notably in the 1915 convention. There was also frequent discussion of resolutions calling for an independent labor party, the most important debates occurring in 1923, 1925, and 1936.

President Gompers' view that labor's economic objectives should be sought through collective bargaining rather than legislation was crystallized in a resolution of the 1914 convention, passed over socialist opposition, which declared that "the question of regulation of wages and hours of labor should be undertaken through trade union activity, and not be made subjects of legislative enactment except insofar as such regulations govern or affect the employment of women and minors, health and morals, and employment by federal, state or municipal government." A similar attitude was taken toward the problem of unemployment as recently as 1930. In that year the resolutions committee reported unfavorably a resolution calling for government unemployment insurance, on the ground that such a system would require much supervision and control of labor by the government, necessitate registration of workers, and constitute a serious menace to their liberties. President Green, speaking on the resolution, said "The American workman, proud of his freedom and liberty, is not yet willing to make himself a ward of the state." During the 1929-1933 depression, President Green maintained that private industry must take the initiative in relieving unemployment, though

he also favored a system of public employment offices and a public works program.

The years since 1933 have witnessed a considerable modification of the Federation's attitude toward legislation. President Green supported the National Recovery Administration from its establishment and deplored its invalidation by the Supreme Court. The 1934 convention reversed the position taken in 1930 on unemployment insurance. The AFL approved the Social Security Act and has supported subsequent efforts to extend the Act's coverage. In general, the Federation has supported the labor and social legislation of the Roosevelt Administration but has criticized the administration of individual acts, particularly the National Labor Relations Act.

The merit of craft unions as compared with industrial or multi-industrial unions was debated from the very beginning of the Federation's history. It was involved in the struggle with the Knights of Labor. Even before this struggle had been won, jurisdictional disputes began to appear between craft and industrial unions within the AFL. The Brewery Workers had a particularly large number of disputes with the Teamsters and other craft groups. AFL conventions tended to uphold the position of the craft unions, and the refusal of the Brewery Workers to accept an adverse decision led to its temporary suspension from the AFL in 1907. The United Mine Workers also had frequent disputes with craft unions, but was usually sufficiently strong to maintain its position. The most important early statement of Federation policy on the subject was the declaration of the Scranton convention in 1901, which recommended alliance, federation, or even voluntary amalgamation of kindred trades. No compulsion was to be used to effect such alliances or amalgamations, however, and the jurisdictions of existing craft groups were to be respected. This declaration, and the organization of industrial departments which began in 1908-1909, has remained the basic AFL policy to the present time.

Related to the issue of industrial unionism was the question of whether and how to organize low-skilled workers. The great majority of industrial workers, left outside of craft organizations, constituted a constant threat to the standards of the skilled workers, particularly during depressions. The AFL federal locals, created in an effort to meet the problem, never succeeded in attracting more than a small percentage of the eligible workers, nor were their members ever satisfied with their status in the Federation. In 1901 they demanded greater representation in

AFL conventions, larger benefits, and an intensive campaign to organize the unskilled. Rebuffed on these points, a number of the locals seceded and attempted to form a separate laborers' union. This stimulated the AFL to establish a strike fund for federal locals in 1902. In 1911 the federal locals once more introduced resolutions demanding representation on the executive council and criticizing the AFL for its lack of organizing effort among the unskilled.

The problem became more and more serious as the number of semi-skilled workers in mass production industries multiplied. Large numbers of these workers were organized into federal locals on an industrial basis in the late twenties and early thirties, particularly during 1933 and 1934. Many of the craft unions looked on these new locals as legitimate recruiting grounds for their own membership. The industrial unions resisted the disintegration of their membership and demanded AFL charters giving them exclusive jurisdiction over their industries. They were supported in this position by many leaders of older industrial unions within the Federation.

The struggle came to a head in the 1934 and 1935 conventions, which saw protracted debates between the industrial unionists, led by John L. Lewis, and the majority of the executive council. After the industrial unionists were outvoted in the 1935 convention, several unions formed the Committee for Industrial Organization. They were shortly joined by other industrial unions in the Federation and by most of the federal locals in mass production industries. Although the leaders of the CIO contended that it was formed for purely organizing purposes and was intended to operate within the AFL, the executive council ruled that it was a dual organization and ordered it to disband. When the CIO affiliates refused, they were suspended from the AFL in 1936 and eventually expelled in 1938. They then proceeded to form a rival federation, the Congress of Industrial Organizations. From 1936 on, AFL conventions saw much criticism of the CIO and discussion of attempts to bring about a reunion of the two groups.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR. BUILDING AND CONSTRUCTION TRADES DEPARTMENT

Address: 901 Massachusetts Ave., N. W., Washington

I. CHRONOLOGY

1908 Chartered by AFL.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
1st-35th ann., 1908-1941 (3rd omitted in numbering)
2. Reports.
Officers: 1940
3. Constitutions.
ann. 1908-1910; ann. 1912-1914; ann. 1916-1918; 1921; ann.
1923-1928; 1932

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR. METAL TRADES DEPARTMENT

Address: 901 Massachusetts Ave., N. W., Washington

I. CHRONOLOGY

1908 Chartered by AFL.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
1st-33rd ann., 1909-1941
2. Constitutions.
ann. 1909-1921; 1923; 1925; 1926; 1928; 1939
3. Journal.
Published as: (Washington)
1919-1927: *Metal Trades Department Bulletin*
1928-1941+: *Bulletin of the ...*

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR. MINING DEPARTMENT

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1912 Chartered by AFL.
1922 Disbanded.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
[1912]; 1919; 1920; 1921
2. Reports.
President: ann. 1914-1918
3. Constitutions.
ann. 1913-1920

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR. RAILWAY EMPLOYEES' DEPARTMENT

Address: 936 N. Michigan Ave., Chicago

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1908 Organized as Railroad Employees' Department.
1909 Affiliated with AFL.
1912 Absorbed Federation of Federations of Railway Employees.
1916 Adopted present name.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
Apr 1912; Nov 1912; 1st-6th bien., 1912-1922; 7th, 1926; 8th, 1930; 9th, 1938
2. Constitutions.
1908; 1911; 1912; bien. 1916-1922; 1926; 1930; 1938
3. Journal.
Published as: (Sedalia, Mo.)
Aug 29, 1914-Aug 1923: *Railway Federationist*
(Ceased publication. Published by Sedalia Federation of Labor 1910-Aug 1923 and was endorsed by the Railway Employees' Dept. during above period.)

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR. UNION LABEL TRADES DEPARTMENT

Address: 901 Massachusetts Ave., N. W., Washington

I. CHRONOLOGY

1909 Organized by AFL.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
1st, Mar 1909; 2nd, Nov 1909; 3rd-34th ann., 1909-1941
2. Constitutions.
1909 (2 edns); 1913; 1915; 1918; 1920; 1923; 1932; 1934

AMERICAN LABOR UNION

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1898 Organized as Western Labor Union.
1902 Changed name to American Labor Union.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
3rd, 1900; 5th, 1902; 6th, 1903
2. Constitutions.
1898; ann. 1901-1903
3. Journal.
Published as: (Chicago)
1902-1904: *American Labor Union Journal*
1905-Jun 1905?: *Voice of Labor*
(Jan 1905 absorbed *Railway Employees' Journal*, organ of
United Brotherhood of Railway Employees (q. v.).)

CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

Address: 718 Jackson Pl., N. W., Washington

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1935 Organized as Committee for Industrial Organization by informal agreement among officers of seven international unions affiliated with American Federation of Labor.
- 1936 Component unions (Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America; Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers; Federation of Flat Glass Workers of America; International Ladies' Garment Workers Union; International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers; United Automobile Workers; International Association of Oil Field, Gas-Well and Refinery Workers; United Mine Workers; United Rubber Workers; United Textile Workers) suspended by AFL.
- 1938 All of above unions, except International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, expelled by AFL. Reorganized as Congress of Industrial Organizations.

II. PUBLICATIONS (Code Number: C3)

1. Proceedings.
1st-4th ann., 1938-1941
2. Constitutions.
1938; 1940; 1941
3. Journal.
Published as: (Washington)
Dec 1937-1941+: *The CIO News*
Editor:
Dec 1937-1941+: Len DeCaux

III. CRITIQUE OF PUBLICATIONS

The Committee for Industrial Organization was three years old when it called its first convention in 1938 and constituted itself a permanent federation—the Congress of Industrial Organizations. The delegates spent little time on the reasons for the split in the labor movement, but did give considerable attention to proposals for peace with the AFL. They examined the peace negotiations of the year before and criticized the jurisdictional claims put forward by AFL internationals.

Though unionization of the mass production industries was the initial project of the Committee for Industrial Organization, the Congress took all industry for its province. To unite and educate its diversified membership, the weekly eight-page *CIO News* was established in 1937 as a central organ of information and opinion. The editorial section of the *News* expressed the views of headquarters officials on national and international affairs as well as on problems of CIO organization. The greater part of the paper, however, was given over to news stories on the organizing campaigns, contract negotiations, strikes, conventions, and auxiliary activities of the affiliated internationals, including such groups as the Furniture Workers, Inland Boatmen, Rubber Workers, Seamen, Federal Employees, Fur Workers, Woodworkers, Shoe Workers, and Office and Professional Workers.

While most of these reports were brief, the *News* singled out for special attention such events as the work of the organizing committees for the steel, textile, and packing house industries (1938); the factional struggle in the United Automobile Workers, the Chicago strike of the American Newspaper Guild against Hearst publications, the Chrysler strike, and the fight of the United Office and Professional Workers against alleged anti-union activities of insurance company employers (1939); the New York Transport Workers' strike and the initiation of the Ford drive (1940); the progress of the Ford campaign, the renewal of the Bethlehem Steel campaign, the organization of aircraft workers, and the negotiations of the United Mine Workers for a union shop in the captive mines of U. S. Steel (1941).

After 1939, and particularly during 1941, the national defense program was discussed extensively in the *News*. The 1939 and 1940 conventions, while expressing sympathy for the victims of Nazism, had agreed that the United States must stay out of the European war. They opposed the Selective Service Act and cited the dangers to labor of a war economy. The 1941 convention approved lend lease and rearmament. At the same time, however, the CIO demanded labor representation on economic control agencies and Selective Service boards, insisted on protection of labor's rights during the emergency, and denounced anti-strike legislation. Philip Murray, president of the CIO and chairman of the Steel Workers' Organizing Committee, presented proposals for more efficient use of manpower and other resources in defense industries and particularly in the steel industry. The *News* applauded a plan for converting the automobile industry to war production presented by Walter Reuther, vice-president of the United Auto-

mobile Workers. The CIO housing committee submitted suggestions for improved housing of defense workers. After the outbreak of war in December, 1941, the CIO announced its wholehearted support of the war program.

Efforts to secure and enforce favorable state and federal labor legislation were a major part of CIO activity from the beginning. Both Lewis and Murray, first and second presidents of the federation, included in their reports to CIO conventions a section on the administration of the Public Contracts Act, the Fair Labor Standards Act, and the National Labor Relations Act, with particular attention to the latter. Resolutions demanding the denial of government contracts to violators of these laws were passed annually. Lee Pressman, general counsel of the CIO, supplemented the president's report with frequent articles in the *News*, which discussed not only the three acts mentioned but also labor cases in general and particularly Supreme Court decisions. The president's reports also urged extension of the social security system, initiation of a socialized medical program, and increased appropriations for the Works Progress Administration.

The CIO took an interest in legislators as well as legislation. Through its affiliates and through a special political organization, Labor's Non-Partisan League, it worked for the election of local, state, and national candidates who had proved their good-will to labor. In 1940, during Franklin Roosevelt's third campaign for the presidency, John L. Lewis, independently of the CIO, endorsed the Republican candidacy of Wendell Willkie in a nation-wide radio address. Re-election of Roosevelt, Lewis declared, "will mean that the members of the CIO have rejected my advice and my recommendations . . . and I will retire as president of the CIO." At the 1940 convention which followed the re-election of President Roosevelt, Lewis retired from the presidency of the CIO and Philip Murray was elected to succeed him.

The reports of officers to CIO conventions, in addition to the legislative and political material just mentioned, included a description of CIO organizing activities and gains in membership, the work of the CIO regional offices, the formation of new local industrial councils, and the activities of affiliated internationals. They did not, except for 1938, provide financial statements. Discussion of delegates, which was reported verbatim, centered mainly on the report of a committee specially appointed to evaluate the president's report. In addition, about a hundred resolutions, compiled by the resolutions committee from several hundred presented by various delegates, were put before each convention and discussed by the delegates.

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1905 Organized by a convention of international unions, the most important of which was Western Federation of Miners (*q. v.*).
- 1907 Western Federation of Miners withdrew.
- 1908 DeLeon faction seceded but retained name of Industrial Workers of the World until 1915 when it changed name to Workers International Industrial Union (*q. v.*).
- 1924 Emergency Program group withdrew.

II. PUBLICATIONS (Code Number: W1)

1. Proceedings.

1st-4th ann., 1905-1908; [5th, 1909]; 6th-8th ann., 1911-1913; 10th, 1916; 11th, 1919; [12th, 1920]; 13th-15th ann., 1921-1923; [16th, 1924; 17th, 1925]; 18th, 1928; [19th, 1931] (4th, 11th, 12th, 17th *with* journal)

2. Constitutions.

1905; bien. 1906-1910; ann. 1911-1914; 1916; 1917; 1919; ann. 1920-1922; 1924; 1925; 1929

3. Journal.

Published as: (New Castle, Pa.; Chicago)

Mar 2, 1907-Mar 6, 1909: *The Industrial Union Bulletin*
(Ceased publication)

Mar 18, 1911-Oct 27, 1917: *Solidarity*

Nov 1, 1917-Nov 9, 1918: *Defense News Bulletin*

Nov 16, 1918-Mar 6, 1920: *The New Solidarity*

Mar 13, 1920-Sep 10, 1921: *Solidarity*

Sep 17, 1921-Dec 1, 1931: *Industrial Solidarity*

(Ceased publication. *Solidarity* was published by New Castle locals Dec 18, 1909-Dec 10, 1910; was official organ of the Pittsburgh district Dec 17, 1910-Mar 11, 1911; was eastern organ of IWW Mar 18, 1911-Mar 29, 1913; was published by IWW Executive Board Apr 19, 1913-Dec 1, 1931; became official organ of IWW Mar 14, 1914. NS, Nov 16, 1918; Mar 13, 1920. Suspended Jul 30, 1924-Jan 7, 1925.)

Editors:

Mar 2, 1907-Apr 25, 1908: A. S. Edwards

May 2, 1908-Mar 6, 1909: W. E. Trautmann; V. St. John

Dec 18, 1909-Mar 26, 1910: A. M. Stirton

Apr 2-Apr 23, 1910: H. A. Goff

Apr 30-Jun 25, 1910: A. M. Stirton

Jul 2, 1910-Mar 3, 1917: B. H. Williams

Mar 10-Oct 27, 1917: R. H. Chaplin
 Nov 1, 1917-Nov 9, 1918: General Defense Committee
 Nov 16-Dec 7, 1918: General Executive Board
 Dec 28, 1918-Nov 25, 1919: C. E. Payne
 Nov 29-Dec 13, 1919: General Executive Board
 Dec 20, 1919-Mar 6, 1920: Donald M. Crocker
 Mar 13-Apr 24, 1920: General Executive Board
 May 1-Oct 16, 1920: Hugh R. Richards
 Oct 23-Nov 6, 1920: General Executive Board
 Nov 13, 1920-May 28, 1921: B. H. Williams
 Jun 4, 1921-Aug 18, 1926: General Executive Board
 Aug 25, 1926-Jul 15, 1930: J. A. Gahan
 Jul 22, 1930-Apr 7, 1931: General Executive Board
 Apr 14-Nov 17, 1931: J. A. Gahan
 Nov 24-Dec 1, 1931: J. Kenney

III. CRITIQUE OF PUBLICATIONS

When the Western Federation of Miners sponsored the Chicago Industrial Union Convention of 1905, it hoped to realize a federation dual to the AFL—a union of industrial unions. Disgust with craft union tactics had prompted the Miners to father a prior federation, the Western Labor Union, which, renamed the American Labor Union, was now declining. This time the WFM plan attracted other unions, both internationals and locals, and socialist labor leaders—all of whom shared the Miners' antipathy for the AFL and their desire for a real working class movement." In their condemnation of capitalism and Gompersism the two hundred delegates to the Chicago convention were as one, and in both these enmities the new federation, the Industrial Workers of the World, never faltered.

While agreed on the reality of the class struggle and the need for industrial organization, the membership of the IWW broke into antagonistic alignments on the question of political activity. In the preamble of the 1905 constitution the convention had declared that toilers must "come together *on the political as well as the industrial field* and take hold of that which they produce by their labor through an organization of the working class, *without affiliation with any political party*."¹ This statement gave some measure of support to all factions in the union. The industrial unionists, who opposed any form of political activity, rallied around the phrase, "without affiliation with any political party." Their adversaries, themselves divided between the Socialist party

1. Italics supplied.

and the Socialist Labor party, appropriated the phrase, "on the political as well as the industrial field," to support their demand for political party affiliation. Both wings of this faction warned that without attack on the political strongholds of capitalism there could be no emancipation of workers, but each claimed to be the only workers' party and fought the other, as well as the anti-politics group, for control of the new federation.

In the convention of 1907 the industrial unionists joined hands with the Socialist Labor party group against the Socialists, and the Western Federation of Miners, who had generally supported the Socialist party, abandoned the IWW. The alliance between these two groups, however, proved very brief. Each wished to control the IWW and neither would surrender to the other. In the 1908 convention the anti-politics group secured a clear rejection of the tactics of political action. The Socialist Labor group, under the leadership of Daniel De Leon, seceded and set up a rival organization in Detroit, while the Industrial Workers of the World entered on its career committed to direct action on the economic front.

The refusal of the industrial unionists to lend themselves to either the Socialist party or the Socialist Labor party was based on their conviction that the political power of the capitalist was secondary and derived from his control over economic resources. They insisted that the proletariat must attack the source of the enemy's strength rather than one of its manifestations. They asserted that no political party was capable of uniting the duped and divided workers of the United States, who must instead be gathered into class-conscious unions of their own industries and joined in one big union with the workers of all industries—as they would be in the future society, in which workers would control production and enjoy its full fruits. The industrial union was regarded as a device to achieve several ends: to undermine the capitalist system by forcing from the employer more and more of the "surplus value" which he expropriated, and thus to secure worthwhile immediate gains for its members; to discipline and indoctrinate the working class for its revolutionary destiny; and to provide the basic industrial structure of the new syndicalist society. As preface and conclusion to such expositions of their philosophy, the industrial unionists castigated the AFL which, they contended, prevented labor solidarity by organizing workers into craft unions; which sacrificed labor to the profits of the employer by bestowing the union label on him; which sold labor to bourgeois politics by accepting the capitalist system and encouraging harmony between employer and worker.

The meaning of the policy established by the constitutional convention was debated in the early journals of the IWW, as well as in the 1906 and 1908 conventions. The first official publication, a monthly started in 1905, was seized by the losing faction in the 1906 convention, and no copy of it remains. Its successor, *The Industrial Union Bulletin*, expounded the principles of industrial unionism, but until 1908 did so under the fire of the Socialist Labor party group which remained after the 1906 contest and which continued to advocate political action. The *Bulletin* had only a short life. By August 1908 its four-page issues began to be published semi-monthly, rather than weekly, and the following March, it was discontinued for want of funds. From this time until March 1914, the Industrial Workers of the World had no official publication, but the locals in Spokane, Washington, undertook a weekly entitled *The Industrial Worker* and in New Castle, Pennsylvania, there appeared *Solidarity*, a publication of the Eastern locals.

Unlike the *Bulletin*, *Solidarity* paid little attention to theory. It watched instead over the development of the organization, for those were times when strike followed strike: McKees Rocks, East Hammond, Grand Rapids, Lawrence, Little Falls, Rochester, Paterson, Akron; when free speech fights were launched in many western cities—Spokane, Fresno, Aberdeen, San Diego, Minot; when organizing campaigns were begun among steel, textile, and hotel and restaurant workers. In the hands of the general executive board, which took it over in 1913, *Solidarity* became the clarion of the IWW. Whenever it could, it proclaimed victories. When it could not, it assailed the AFL and argued the advantages of industrial unionism.

A small element in the IWW at one time argued that the organization should "bore from within" AFL craft unions and capture them instead of fighting them. This strategy was scorned by the IWW leaders. They were confident that members could be attracted from the AFL unions by IWW successes and they therefore chose to raid rather than reform. But despite *Solidarity's* condemnations of the AFL and its arguments for the IWW program, the AFL members resisted conversion.

Though it failed to deplete AFL unions, the IWW established dual internationals of longshoremen, seamen, miners, machinists, and textile workers during the years 1914-1917 and 1919-1922. In the steel, oil, and food industries, despite repeated campaigns, it could assemble only a few insecure locals. Its greatest success, however, was achieved among migratory farm workers

and lumberjacks. The organization of lumberjacks had been reported by the *Bulletin* as early as 1908. *Solidarity* made little mention of these workers until 1916, but for ten years thereafter bulletins from the Lumber Workers' international appeared very frequently. The IWW initiated a drive among migratory farm workers in 1914 and within a year had chartered the Agricultural Workers' Organization as a national union in this field. Western farm workers and lumber workers made ardent "Wobblies" with a ready will for strikes and free speech fights, and with a more permanent attachment to the organization than the city workers of the east. The IWW also encouraged organization of the unemployed and of alien workers. For a period of at least fifteen years groups of aliens in the IWW—Finns, Hungarians, Czechoslovakians, Spaniards, and Italians—published papers of their own, and the Finns established Work People's College in Duluth.

Wherever the IWW organized it encountered bitter opposition. The early free speech fights, the Ford and Suhr case, the Everett massacre, the execution of Joe Hill, the murder of Frank Little, the Bisbee deportation—all crowded the eight years of *Solidarity's* publication. The journal was suspended in October 1917, when its second class mailing privileges were revoked as a penalty for its persistent depiction of the World War as a capitalist struggle, which presented labor with an opportunity to bring about revolutionary changes. A month earlier United States agents had raided IWW offices and printing bureaus and unearthed evidence sufficient to convict the IWW of interference with the prosecution of the war. State and local officials also raided the homes of IWW members and jailed them for "criminal syndicalism" and other offenses. After the war, on Armistice Day 1919, American Legionnaires parading in Centralia, Washington, stormed an IWW meeting. Three of the Legionnaires were killed in the riot which followed, and as a result one of the IWW members was lynched and eleven were imprisoned.

For a year after *Solidarity's* suspension, the *Defense News Bulletin* weathered the attacks loosed by the war, raising funds, rallying the members who remained, and supplying news of the organization until *New Solidarity* was begun. *Solidarity*, *New Solidarity* and *Industrial Solidarity*, the IWW's last official publication, were cut of the same cloth. All three consisted primarily of news stories, to which were appended expositions of the principles of industrial unionism. Until 1924 *Industrial Solidarity*, a six-page weekly, matched the vigor of its predecessors. But the IWW, which was suffering strike losses, new raids, and a second

outburst of criminal syndicalism cases in California, could not long support a journal in such style. It was forced to let *Industrial Solidarity* lapse, and when publication was resumed after five months, the journal had lost two pages and turned to the Federated Press for news.

While *Industrial Solidarity* was suspended in 1924, the IWW held its sixteenth convention. A group of members repudiated the convention and met separately, demanding measures to eliminate central control of the organization. Such demands were not new to the IWW. In successive conventions attempts had been made to secure control of the federation for the "rank and file." The office of president had been abolished in 1906, and in 1916 the decentralizers forced the elimination of the office of general organizer, which had become a partial substitute for the presidency. At the next convention, in 1919, general officers were limited to a one-year term, and uniform dues and initiation fees were decreed in an effort to reduce the power of local leaders. Thus by the twenties the rank and file was in control, and the rump convention of 1924 demanded virtual dissolution of the central organization as the logical completion of the reforms already made. Though these proposals were not adopted, *Industrial Solidarity* concluded in 1925 that decentralization had been folly: "All our important history was made prior to . . . 1919."

KNIGHTS OF LABOR

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1878 Organized as national assembly, bringing together local organizations dating back to 1869.
 1887 Ended period of secrecy.

II. PUBLICATIONS (Code Number: K1)

1. Proceedings.
 1st, 1878; 2nd, Jan 1879; 3rd, Sep 1879; 4th, 1880; 6th-9th ann., 1882-1885; spec. May/Jun 1886; 10th-23rd ann., 1886-1899; spec., Jun 1900; 24th-26th ann., 1900-1902; 29th, 1910; 30th, 1913
2. Constitutions.
 1879; ann. 1881-1885; ann. 1887-1890; 1892; 1893; 1895; 1896; ann. 1898-1902; 1908; 1910

3. Journal.

Published as: (Marblehead, Mass.; Pittsburgh; Philadelphia; Washington)

• May 15, 1880-Nov 28, 1889: *Journal of United Labor*
 Dec 5, 1889-Jun 1904: *Journal of the Knights of Labor*
 Jul-Dec 1904: *The Journal*
 Jul 1905-Jun 1917?: *Journal of the Knights of Labor*
 (May 1903-Aug 1905 volume enumeration very irregular:
 May-Nov 1903 marked v. 23; Dec 1903-Apr 1904 marked v. 24; Jul, Oct-Dec 1904 marked v. 1; no issues Jan-Jun 1905; Jul-Aug 1905 marked v. 25; 1911 marked v. 31. Possibly suspended Aug 1905-Jul 1911.)

Editors:

May 1880-Apr 1881?: Charles Litchman
 May?-Sep 1883: Robert D. Layton
 Jan 7?-May 12, 1888: Charles Litchman
 May 19, 1888-Jul 11, 1889: Adelbert M. Dewey
 Jul 18, 1889-Feb 16, 1893: Board of Trustees
 Feb 23-Nov 30, 1893: A. W. Wright
 Dec 7, 1893-Feb 14, 1895: J. S. Schonfacher
 Feb 21, 1895-Apr 1904: Board of Trustees
 Jul 1904-Jun 1917: John W. Hayes
 (No issues available for May 1881-Apr 1883, Oct 1883-Dec 1887.)

III. CRITIQUE OF PUBLICATIONS

A scant two volumes of the *Journal of United Labor*, published during the formative years of the Knights of Labor, show clearly the separate roads which the Knights traveled—one, economic, the other, political. The principal content of these early journals is the every-day business of a young trade union. Monthlies of varying size, but usually about sixteen pages, they included membership lists, notices of expulsion, financial reports, and rules for the organization and conduct of district and local assemblies. Districts reported for themselves and their locals on membership, administration, and strikes. General Master Workman Powderly announced new regulations concerning eligibility for membership and office, elections, organizers, and traveling cards, and discussed the function of labor unions, the responsibilities and qualifications of officers, and the use of strikes. There were biographical sketches of the staff of the general assembly. On the editorial page, however, trade unionism made room for national problems, especially immigration, the qualifications of political candidates, and consumer and producer cooperation. Articles from other periodicals supplemented the discussions.

By 1881 the Knights of Labor had become strong enough to abandon the secrecy in which the organization had first taken shelter, and in 1888 its journal was made available to the public. Styled first the *Journal of United Labor* and after 1888 the *Journal of the Knights of Labor*, it maintained through several changes of editorship the dichotomy of interest which had marked its inception. Regularly, until 1895, one of its four pages went to issues before the nation; a second to editorials on these topics and on union affairs; a third to communications from subscribers who wrote of the progress or difficulties of their local assemblies or voiced their opinions on the political controversies which occupied the Knights; and the last to a miscellany gathered from other publications.

After 1895 the division of space among these components was revised—the change having begun imperceptibly during the formation of the Populist party and becoming more and more striking. Union news and communications were shortened to make room for lengthy articles, often reprinted from other papers, advocating government ownership of the telegraph and the railroads, trust busting, government control of money and banking, free coinage of silver, farmer-labor cooperation, restriction of immigration, and the election of trustworthy candidates. Accompanying this legislative program was strong advocacy of producers' and consumers' cooperation, including descriptions of cooperative enterprises already established. Increasingly, however, until the suspension of the publication in 1905, the exposition of the political policies of the Knights predominated. There were occasional innovations: the paper became an eight-page monthly; a woman's column was begun and deserted and woman suffrage taken up; regular columns of comment on national affairs were set up; the Spanish war raised the issue of imperialism and prompted a journalistic crusade in behalf of the Philippines and a pursuit of the beef trust. But through the years the initial planks held steadfast, and the fascination of the single tax and of cheap money never faltered.

In the convention proceedings political objectives did not enjoy such prominence. They were left to a national legislative committee, which presented to the conventions from 1887 to 1890 a report on legislation already passed and pending, lobbying techniques, and the attitudes of Congressmen. After 1890 this report, stripped of its commentary, consisted simply of resolutions on specific bills. In general, economic objectives and tactics dominated the convention discussions.

Ethical and political reformers, the Knights of Labor attempted to devise a trade unionism fitted to their purpose. They believed that only a fraternity of all workers could secure for them all of "the wealth they create." Accordingly, their local assemblies welcomed laborers and farmers alike and extended membership to all others honorably employed (but "honorably employed" was interpreted to exclude gamblers, stockbrokers, saloonkeepers, lawyers, and bankers). Most of the early locals were "mixed" assemblies, organized on a territorial basis and including all types of labor, though a few were trade assemblies admitting only the workers in a particular trade or industry. The mixed assemblies were grouped into districts on a territorial basis, and representatives from both the locals and districts formed the general assembly, the governing body of the Order.

The mixed locals were designed primarily for political and educational activities, but their members nevertheless expected them to secure immediate increases in the wealth which, they were taught, the workers create. The structure of these locals proved a considerable handicap, however, in collective bargaining. Their frequent failures and the contrasting successes of the AFL unions, organized along trade lines and seeking only day-to-day concessions, ultimately threw into disfavor the Knights' principle of fraternity. In 1898, when the issue had already been decided in practice, the Knights began to encourage the formation of homogeneous trade bodies.

Even before this time, however, the trade assemblies of the Knights had inevitably come into conflict with the trade unions of the AFL, since both organizations could establish, maintain, and extend their jurisdictions only at each other's expense. Accounts of important disputes, like those between the AFL Cigar Makers' International and the K of L Cigarmakers' National Trade Assembly, always appeared in the journal, seldom without a supplement of editorials explaining the issues and defending the Knights. As the AFL steadily gained ground, the Knights, although always asserting their claim to the workers on grounds of their prior organization and their broader program, tried to bring about a peaceable coexistence. In conference after conference they put forth proposals for an exchange of working cards and an agreement on wage standards. The AFL, however, insisted militantly on the "inherent right of trade unions to have jurisdiction in trade affairs."

The Knights entered into collective bargaining with no concept of class conflict or even a clash of interest between employer and worker. They considered the use of the strike dangerous to the maintenance of industrial harmony and also deplored it on the practical ground that it weakened the organization. Arbitration was the officially preferred method of adjusting disputes. District executive boards reserved the right to call and approve strikes, and the expenditure of assistance funds was carefully hedged with constitutional provisions. When they were locked out, usually because of union activity, the Knights resorted to publicity campaigns and boycotts, with which their journal is filled, and to the assistance fund. When discrimination became too severe, or wages or working conditions too unsatisfactory, however, the Knights struck.

The later years of the Knights saw an increase of internal turbulence. The general assembly suffered a stormy succession of Grand Master Workmen. Powderly, who held office from 1879 to 1893, was suspended from the Order because of his refusal to surrender to the new staff union documents in his possession. The Assembly replaced Sovereign (1893-1897) before he had completed his second term. The special convention of 1900 expelled Parsons (elected in November 1898) on three counts: neglect of duty, collection of a "corruption fund" with which Parsons as president of the National Association of Letter Carriers allegedly hoped to buy votes for a bill increasing the salaries of letter carriers, and an attempt to take possession of the property of the general office. Simon Burns (November 1900-October 1901) was not long out of office when his cooperation (and that of his local, Assembly 300) with the Window Glass Trust was discovered. And his successor, Hicks, was accused of abusing and exceeding the powers of the Grand Master Workman.

Parsons' attempt to seize the property of the general assembly led to the incorporation of the Knights, and the charter was retained even after the danger had passed. The Knights explained in the journal that incorporation safeguarded the union member from ill-advised or unconstitutional acts of officers; protected the label; enabled the union to prosecute those infringing its rights; recognized the constitution as the authorized law of the organization; and placed the Order upon the same footing as employers, already responsible to the law.

Publication of the *Journal of the Knights of Labor* was suspended in 1905, and when it was resumed in 1911, the Order had

almost ceased to exist. Only locals of the National Assembly of Boot and Shoe Cutters reported briefly in the journal that year, and in 1912 the Lynn Shoecutters, the most important of these, voted to join the United Shoe Workers of America. As a pendulum continues to swing after pressure had ceased, the journal continued to talk of government ownership of public utilities, immigration, finance, tariffs, and Theodore Roosevelt and to appraise political candidates. The World War did not disturb it, and its remaining energy was spent on the Pure Foods and Drug Act.

PAN-AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

I. CHRONOLOGY

1918 Formed at conference of Pan-American countries in Laredo, Texas. Composed of labor organizations of United States of America, Mexico, and nations of Central and South America.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
1st, 1918; 2nd, 1919; 3rd-5th trien., 1921-1927

TRADES AND LABOR CONGRESS OF CANADA, THE

Address: Congress Building, 172 McLaren St., Ottawa, Ont.

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1883 Organized as The Canadian Labor Union.
 1886 Changed name to The Trades and Labor Congress of the Dominion of Canada.
 1895 Adopted present name.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
1883; 2nd-57th ann., 1886-1941
2. Constitutions.
1903; 1906; 1911; 1913; 1914; ann. 1916-1921 (1903 *with* proceedings)
3. Journal.
Published as: (Ottawa, Ont.)
1922-1941+ : *Canadian Congress Journal*

WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL INDUSTRIAL UNION

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1908 Organized by seceding faction of Industrial Workers of the World (*q. v.*). Set up headquarters in Detroit; continued to claim name of Industrial Workers of the World.
- 1915 Abandoned claim to name of Industrial Workers of the World and adopted name of Workers' International Industrial Union.
- 1924 Dissolved by formal resolution, and turned over records and property to Socialist Labor Party.

II. PUBLICATIONS

- 1. Constitutions.
1908; 1917; 1919
- 2. Journal.
Published as: (Detroit; Troy, N. Y.)
1912-May 1924: *The Industrial Union News*
(Ceased publication. Published without volume numbers after v. 10, no. 30, Feb 1922.)

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